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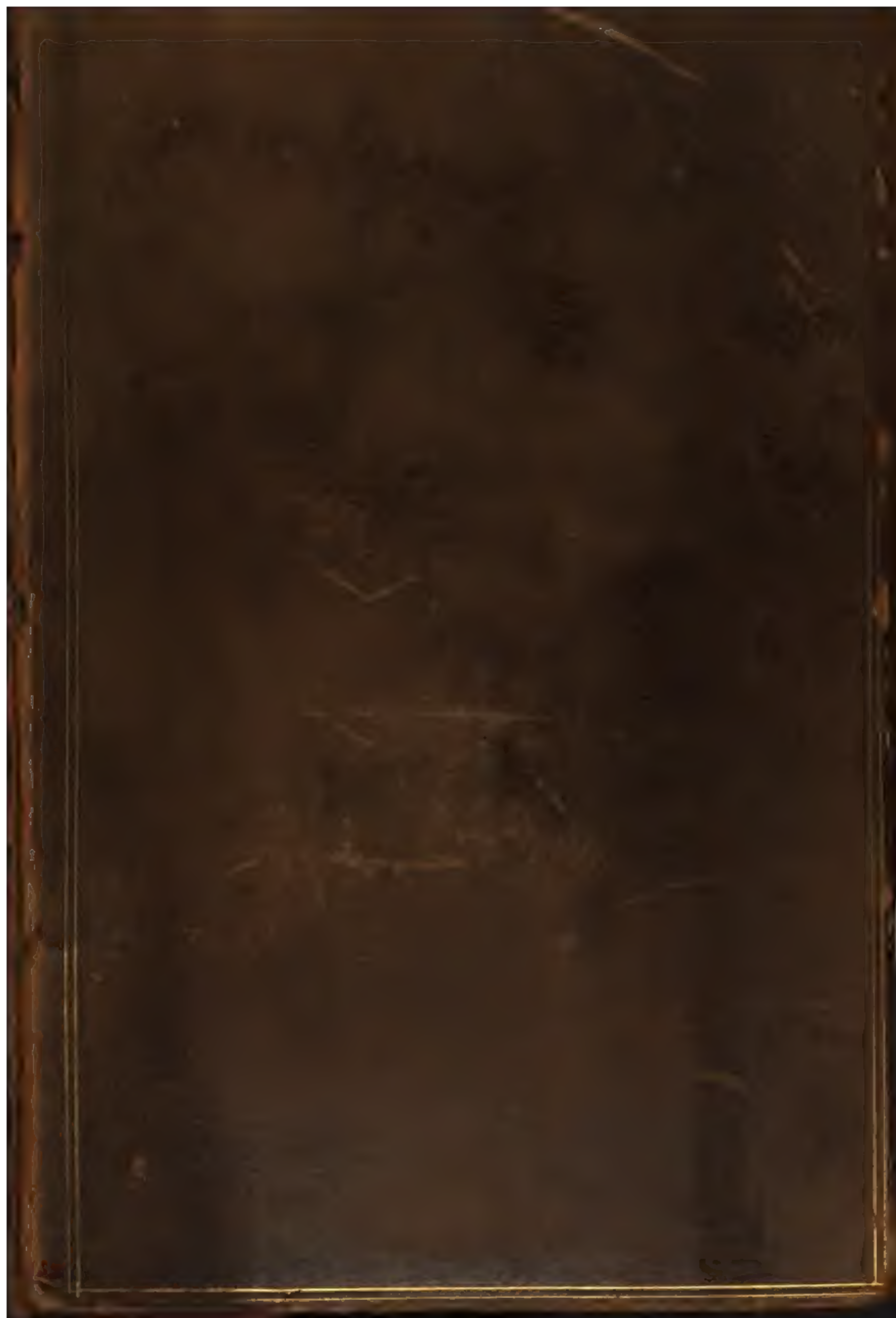
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LIVES OF
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IN
SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

By J. PAYNE COLLIER.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
PRINCIPAL ACTORS
IN THE
PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE.

BY
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ., F.S.A.



LONDON:
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TO

THE EARL OF ELLESMERE;

IN TESTIMONY OF

SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR

MANY FAVOURS CONFERRED UPON

THE AUTHOR.

1

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INTRODUCTION.

The ensuing volume is chiefly composed of minute particulars; but particulars, however minute, are not on that account trifling or uninteresting, since they obviously assume importance in proportion to the prominence or distinction of the parties to whom they relate: these details have reference to Shakespeare, to the great dramatists of his day, and to the principal actors engaged in the original performance of their plays.

General readers will hardly be aware of the time and trouble employed in collecting the facts here arranged; and the compiler is afraid to dwell upon them, lest it should be imagined that he is disposed to over-estimate his labours or his acquisitions. He is fully sensible of the many deficiencies of what he now offers: he knows how much remains to be done; but he knows, too, how much more is contained in the following sheets, than was ever discovered or brought together before. Those only who are acquainted with the scanty and imperfect materials of preceding biographers in this department, will be likely to do justice to the quantity of new information comprised in the volume in their hands. Some few (the author hopes they will be only few) may be of opinion that, at best, it is a monument of time mispent, and industry misapplied.

A separate leaf of the folio of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies," edited by Heminge and Condell in 1623, contains "the names of the principal actors in all these plays:" they are twenty-six in number, and are arranged in two columns. We have dealt with them as they there stand, beginning with the first column, and going down that, before we commenced with the second column. This seems to have been the order intended by Heminge and Condell; and perhaps, before we proceed farther, it may be well to insert the list exactly as it stands in the original, observing, that for our purpose we have throughout employed the copy of the first folio in the library of the Earl of Ellesmere. We need not dwell on this new instance of his lordship's kindness, because towards the Shakespeare Society and the author of the present work it has been invariable.

THE NAMES OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTORS IN ALL THESE
PLAYES.¹

William Shakespeare.	Samuel Gilburne.
Richard Burbadge.	Robert Armin.
John Hemmings.	William Ostler.
Augustine Phillips.	Nathan Field.

¹ We here follow precisely the spelling of the names in the original, but that some of them are wrong we have no doubt, though, as to others, it may be difficult to decide what is right, or what is wrong. Hemmings, for instance, in this list is Heminge at the end of the dedication of the same volume: Kempt is no where else found so spelt, and Poope elsewhere is always Pope. Similar observations will apply to others, but the author has been accustomed to consider the mere orthography of a name, even of that of our great dramatist himself, a matter hardly worth consideration. Any man who corrects a single letter of his writings confers a lasting favour on mankind.

William Kempt.
Thomas Poope.
George Bryan.
Henry Condell.
William Slye.
Richard Cowly.
John Lowine.
Samuell Crosse.
Alexander Cooke.

John Underwood.
Nicholas Tooley.
William Ecclestone.
Joseph Taylor.
Robert Benfield.
Robert Goughe.
Richard Robinson.
Iohn Shancke.
Iohn Rice.

Our volume consists of such circumstances, published by others, or accumulated by ourselves, as relate to the incidents of the lives of the preceding enumeration of actors, with one exception: for that exception the reader will be prepared, because the biography of Shakespeare has been so recently written and printed by the author, that he could have added little to it. With regard to the rest, he has presumed that Heminge and Condell had good reasons for the arrangement they made of the names of their fellow tragedians and comedians, and to that arrangement he has adhered. How far it was regulated by the value and amount of services rendered, by the age of individual performers, or by the periods when they joined the company, we have no such information as will enable us to decide: it is very possible that all these considerations, mixed up perhaps with claims derived from private intimacy, influenced the editors in the order of insertion. That Condell had more to do with it than Heminge, we may be disposed to think from the respective places that their own names occupy.

Some omissions from the list may appear extraordinary: the most remarkable of these is Lawrence

Fletcher (who acted before James I. in Scotland, anterior to his accession to the English throne) whose name comes first in the patent of 1603, and who, not having died until the autumn of 1608, might have sustained characters in most of the plays of our great dramatist. He was buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and the registration, in the book which has always hitherto been referred to, is—

1608. Sept. 12. *Lawrence Fletcher, a man : in the church.*

There were, however (and it is a singular fact not previously noticed, but indisputable) two Lawrence Fletchers residing in the parish of St. Saviour at the same time, and both are mentioned in the old records preserved at the church: therefore, the entry of "Lawrence Fletcher, a man," would apply to either, and does not necessarily belong to the actor; but we have been able to resort to an authority, never before consulted (because only recently brought to light from an old chest preserved in the vestry) which settles the point distinctly. We allude to the unbound periodical accounts on separate sheets, from which the entries in the registers were subsequently copied, with such omissions as the transcriber, for brevity's sake perhaps, thought fit to make: the instance of Lawrence Fletcher illustrates this point very remarkably, for in the monthly accounts of deaths in the parish of St. Saviour, in the year 1608, we find his burial recorded as follows, with much particularity:—

1608. Sept. 12. *Lawrence Fletcher, a player, the King's servant, buried in the church, with an afternoon's knell of the great bell..... 20s.*

Thus we see that the "Lawrence Fletcher, *a man*," who was buried on 12th September, 1608, was not merely "a player," but "the King's servant," (that is to say, a member of the company of actors so licensed and called) and that 20s. were paid for his burial in the church, and for the afternoon's tolling of the great bell.

It is from the "token-books" at St. Saviour's, often quoted in our volume, that we chiefly derive the information that there was another person with both Lawrence Fletcher's names resident in the same parish, and a victualler.¹ These documents (kept, we apprehend, in order to show who had, and who had not, received the sacrament) often contain curious and particular information respecting the places of abode of players at the Globe and other theatres on the Bankside; and, in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, the actor, we learn from them that in 1607 he was living "near the playhouse," doubtless the one in the receipts at which he was largely interested.

It is still a question, and will perhaps ever remain so, whether John Fletcher, the dramatic poet, were not related to Lawrence Fletcher, the actor;² and we may

¹ However, the following entry in the register of a baptism establishes both these points:—

"1612. May 24. *Constance Fletcher, daughter of Lawrence, a victualler.*"

It is by no means impossible that Lawrence Fletcher, the victualler, was son to Lawrence Fletcher, the actor.

² From MS. Lansd., 982, fo. 241, printed in Birch's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," it appears, as Mr. Cunningham has pointed out to

here take the opportunity of pointing out, for the first time, that the registration of the burial of the former is preserved at St. Saviour's in three distinct forms and in three separate documents. In the bound volume it stands thus:—

1625. *Auguste 29. Mr. John Fletcher, a man, in the church.*

In the unbound monthly accounts, from which we have derived the more particular entry of the interment of Lawrence Fletcher, the burial of John Fletcher is recorded in these words:—

29 August, 1625. *John Fletcher, gentleman, in the church 20^s.*

The sum of twenty shillings was probably paid, as in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, for “an afternoon's knell of the great bell,” but in the instance of John Fletcher it is not specified. The two preceding entries would therefore only show that a John Fletcher, “a man,” or “gentleman,” as he is respectively called, had been buried on the 29th August, 1625; but, as we have stated, there is a third record at the same church, which gives a different version to the two preceding, and renders it quite clear that the John Fletcher then interred was not only “a man,” and a “gentleman,” but no other than John Fletcher, the poet: it is this:—

29 August, 1625. *John Fletcher, a poet, in the church. gr. and ch. 2^s.*

It is in a separate book, bound in parchment, and, as we saw, that Bishop Fletcher left eight children behind him in 1596, though in his will he names only two sons, Nathaniel and John. Lawrence Fletcher may have been another son, obliged to take to the stage in consequence of the poverty of his father.

far as we can judge, kept by the sexton, to whom, perhaps, two shillings were paid for the grave and church, indicated by the abbreviations "*gr.* and *ch.*"¹

We have mentioned the token-books, not long since discovered at St. Saviour's; and, recollecting that Shakespeare in 1609 was rated to the poor for the Liberty of the Clink, we were in hopes of finding some memorandum regarding his residence, or that of his brother. In one of the books, indeed, belonging to the year 1607, we saw the name of Edmund Shakespeare, written imperfectly, and subsequently erased, possibly because he was dead; but we looked in vain for the smallest memorandum regarding William Shakespeare. Either he did not go to church and receive the sacrament, or the

¹ Much stress is laid by Gifford upon the fact that Philip Massinger (who, Sir Aston Cokayn says, wrote plays with Fletcher) was buried at St. Saviour's as "a stranger," printing the words in capital letters:—"Even the memorial of his mortality is given with a pathetic brevity, which accords but too well with the obscure and humble passages of his life: 'March 20, 1639-40, buried, Philip Massinger, A STRANGER.' No flowers were flung into his grave," &c. The fact is, that every person there interred, who did not belong to the parish, was called "a stranger," and of this fact many instances might be given. It is remarkable, however, that Massinger, though a stranger, was buried *in the church*, and that no less than £2 were paid for his grave, knell, and other expenses of that kind, which in John Fletcher's case cost only twenty-two shillings. Moreover, it appears, from the monthly accounts at St. Saviour's, that, instead of having been buried on 20th March, 1639-40, as Gifford states, Massinger's funeral took place on the 18th March, 1638-9. The entry is precisely as follows:—

"1638. March 18. *Philip Masenger, strangr, in the Church ... 2^{li}.*

This sum of £2 would rather show that Massinger was interred with peculiar cost and ceremony.

rating to the poor was not in respect of a house in which he resided, but of a dwelling belonging to him and occupied by some tenant, or in respect of his property and interest in the Globe theatre. The circumstance of the absence of his name in the token-books may possibly have some connexion with the question as to his religious tenets. With regard to Edmund Shakespeare, the entry of his burial, we observed on examination, had not been accurately and fully given, even from the ordinary register, for it has been omitted to be stated that, like Fletcher and Massinger, he was interred "in the church:" it stands exactly in this form:—

1607. Dec. 31. *Edmond Shakespeare, a player : in the church.*

In the monthly accounts still farther particulars are supplied, for we there read —

1607. Dec. 31. *Edmund Shakespeare, a player, buried in the church, with a forenoone knell of the great bell 20^s.*

The tollings of the great bell were usually, as in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, "afternoon knells;" and why it was "a forenoon knell" for Edmund Shakespeare we know not, unless it were that his funeral took place in the morning, and that of Lawrence Fletcher in the afternoon. These points, to be sure, are trifles, but they are trifles that nobody has noticed before.

But, if we were disappointed by the scantiness of information in a place where we might reasonably have hoped to find more, we were surprised to meet with tidings of a Shakespeare (unmentioned in the history of our stage, but indisputably connected with it) where we never expected to discover them. Searching the re-

gisters of St. Giles without Cripplegate, in which parish the Fortune was situated, for actors who had been engaged at, and who lived near that theatre, we were astonished to meet with the following entry among the burials :—

Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere, Player : base borne.
12 August, 1607.

This was opening quite new ground : no Edward Shakespeare, after whom the base-born child was christened, has ever before been heard of, yet it is distinctly stated that he was a “player;” and we might suppose, from the parish in which the burial of the infant was recorded, that the father was engaged at the Fortune, and was performing there in 1607, under Henslowe and Alleyn.¹ The name of Edward is written twice over, most distinctly, in the entry, so that there can be no confusion between Edward and Edmund Shakespeare; and the latter lived in Southwark, and was buried there rather more than five months after the burial of Edward Shakespeare’s base-born son is registered. We looked over the book very carefully, but could find no other entry regarding Edward Shakespeare; and, if his natural son were christened, the fact is not stated : neither

¹ The entry proves decisively that the mother was an inhabitant of the parish, but the father might reside elsewhere : if he resided in St. Giles’s, it is probable that he acted at the Fortune in Golden Lane; but he might, like several others, live in Cripplegate, although he performed at the Blackfriars and Globe. Such was, we know, the case with one or more performers, but they had perhaps belonged to the Fortune company before they joined the King’s players, and might not think it worth while to change their place of abode.

is any hint given who was the mother of the child. In a similar case in the same parish, in which William Sly, the actor in our great dramatist's plays, was implicated, on the 24th September in the preceding year, it was recorded that Margaret Chambers was the mother of the infant (p. 156). In the instance of Edward Shakespeare this information is deficient.

Who Edward Shakespeare was, and in what way akin to our great dramatist, must remain a matter for future speculation and discovery; but this is not the only instance in which the same registers, and at no very distant date, contain the name of Shakespeare. In 1618 a Thomas Shakespeare was married to Luce Booth, the entry being in the subsequent form:—

Thomas Shakespeere and Luce Booth, 25 Aug. 1618.

It is extremely probable that this Thomas Shakespeare was related to Edward, who seems to have resided in the same parish; but the registers afford no particle of information of the kind, beyond what we have extracted; and although to the burials at St. Giles, without Cripplegate, the profession or occupation of the party was sometimes added in the register, such was never the case with the marriages: consequently, we know not what was the business or employment of Thomas Shakespeare, nor have we been able to trace either him or Luce Booth farther. If they had children, they were not baptized at the church where the parents were married.¹

¹ Thomas Dekker, the dramatist, whose name was, as usual, variously spelt by his contemporaries, seems to have been born in Southwark, where his father died in 1594, leaving a widow, of whom we hear as

These novel matters have led us away from the point we were considering—how it happened that Lawrence Fletcher and some other actors were omitted from the list of twenty-six players in the folio of 1623. It can hardly be supposed that the actor whose name precedes those of Shakespeare and Burbadge, in the patent of 1603, if he had performed at all in the productions of our great dramatist, would not have been mentioned by Heminge and Condell: the inference is, that he never did appear in any of Shakespeare's plays. With respect to others, whose names do not occur in the first folio, it may be fairly urged that, as far as we know, their parts were not sufficiently prominent to lead to the inclusion of them among "the principal actors."

One of these was "Jack Wilson," as he is called in the body of the folio of 1623, where, in "Much Ado about Nothing," his entrance is marked instead of that of Balthazar, who has merely to sing the song of "Sigh no more, Ladies."¹ A good deal of doubt has prevailed who was John Wilson; but we have ascertained from the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and from those of

"of Maid Lane" in 1596. The poet was married before 1594, and lived in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where some of his children were baptized: e. g.—

"*Christened. Dorcas, daughter of Thomas Dycker, gent. 27 Oct., 1594.*"

"*Christened. Anne, daughter of Thomas Decker, yoman. 24 Oct., 1602.*"

His daughter Elizabeth was buried there on 29th November, 1598, and on the 19th of April preceding he buried a son Thomas, at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate.

¹ See Collier's Shakespeare, ii., 215.

St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield, that he was the son of Nicholas Wilson, "minstrel," (as he is more than once called) and that he was born on the 24th April, 1585.¹ "Much Ado about Nothing" was printed in 4to. in 1600, probably having been first acted in the preceding year; so that, if Wilson were, as is very likely, the original Balthazar, he was then a boy, no doubt distinguished for his skill, being the son of a professed musician, and for the excellence of his voice. This, however, is doubtful, because the 4to. edition of "Much Ado about Nothing," in 1600, has "Enter Balthazar, with music," and "Enter Jack Wilson" is found in the folio of 1623: therefore, Wilson may have succeeded to the part of Balthazar at a date subsequent to the original production of the comedy, and this may

¹ He had an elder brother named Adam, whose baptism is thus recorded in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate:—

"Adam Wilson, soane of Nicholas Wilson, minstrell. 18 Nov., 1582."

But for the discovery of John Wilson's parentage, we might very reasonably have supposed him a son of the old actor, Robert Wilson, who was one of the Earl of Leicester's players in 1574, and who was adopted into the Queen's players in 1583: he was buried at Cripplegate in 1600, as the register establishes:—

"Buried. Robert Wilson, yoman (a player) 20 Nov., 1600."

He was, beyond doubt, the father of the Robert Wilson, the dramatist, whose name repeatedly occurs in Henslowe's "Diary," who was baptized at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, 22 Sept., 1579, married Mary Eaton, at the same church, 24 June, 1606, and died 22 October, 1610. He was buried at St. Bartholomew the Less. It has been hitherto thought that Robert Wilson, the elder, and actor, who died in 1600, and Robert Wilson, the younger, and dramatist, who died in 1610, were the same man.

have led to the mention of him so unusually by his own name, instead of that of the character he sustained.

We have not been able to ascertain whom, where, or in what year, he married, but he buried his wife at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 17th July, 1624: she is called "Jone, the wife of John Wilson, musitian," and it is stated, besides, in the register, that she came from the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less.¹ It is singular that her interment is recorded also at Bartholomew the Less, and in nearly the same form, in consequence, we suppose, of her having been a parishioner, although the funeral actually took place at St. Giles's, Cripplegate. In the register of St. Bartholomew the Less, it is thus given:—

17 July, 1624. Johan, the wiffe of John Willson, of this parish, musitian, was buried.

On the 3rd September following, John Wilson had a son (whose name is left blank in the register) buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, "from the house of George Sommerset, musitian," where, perhaps, the father was temporarily residing when he lost his wife about six weeks before. Respecting his own death, we can give no information.

¹ In this small parish seem to have resided at various dates a considerable number of poets and literary men. We are aware, from Barnfield's "Affectionate Shepherd," 1594, and from other sources, that Thomas Watson, author of "*Εκατομπαθια*, or Passionate Century of Love," printed about 1581, and of "The Tears of Fancie," 1593, was dead in 1594. From the registers of St. Bartholomew the Less we learn that he died, and was buried in that parish the year before the last production we have mentioned was published: the entry is this:—

"26 Sept., 1592. Thomas Watson, gent., was buried."

Gabriel Spencer, who was killed by Ben Jonson in Hoxton Fields, in the autumn of 1598,¹ seems also at one time to have been an actor in the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, as they were called until James I. came to the throne. He had a very inferior part in "Henry VI., Part 3," as it has come down to us in the folio of 1623. This historical play is well known to have been founded upon "The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York," printed in 1595, and plausibly attributed to Robert Greene:² there we read—

Enter a Messenger;

and "Messenger" is the prefix to a short speech he

¹ See "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 51. In Dekker's "Satiromastix," 1602, it is asserted that Ben Jonson would have been hanged but for the intervention of some player: Tucca tells Horace (i.e., Ben Jonson)—"Thou art the true arraign'd poet, and shouldst have been hanged, but for one of these part-takers, these charitable, copper-lac'd Christians, that fetched thee out of Purgatory—players, I mean, theatrians, pouch-mouth stage-walkers." It would be highly characteristic of Shakespeare if we found, by any chance, that he was the player who had been instrumental in saving Ben Jonson from punishment for killing Gabriel Spencer. We have elsewhere remarked that there is much more truth in many of Dekker's imputations against Ben Jonson, in "Satiromastix," than Gifford was willing to allow.

² Gabriel Harvey, in his "Four Letters and Certaine Sonnets," 1592, names Greene's child ironically *Infortunatus Greene*, to which he was led by its real name, *Fortunatus*: when it was born we know not, but it was buried in 1593 from Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and the following is the registration of its interment at St. Leonard's:—

"1593. *Fortunatus Greene was buried the same day.*"

[i.e., 12 August.]

The place from whence the body was brought, "Halywell," was added by the clerk in the margin. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, of course, mentions Greene's son, (*Greene's Works*, i., lxxiii) but until now it was not known

has to deliver; but when the drama was printed, with Shakespeare's additions and alterations, in the folio of 1623, we find the entrance of the Messenger thus changed—

Enter Gabriel,

and what he says has the prefix of "Gabriel."¹ Malone thought that the actor of the part of the Messenger was named Gabriel, but there was no player so called on the stage; and as it was not unusual then, and earlier, to designate the performers by their Christian appellations, such was no doubt the case in this instance, Gabriel having been put for Gabriel Spencer.² This must

what had become of him: the child survived its father not quite a year. The following, from the peculiar wording of the registration, as well as from the correspondence of dates, reads like the entry of the marriage of the ill-governed Robert Greene at St. Bartholomew the Less:—

"The xvjth day of Februarie, 1586, was maryed Wilde, otherwise — Greene, unto Elizabeth Taylor."

Harvey asserts that *Infortunatus* Greene was an illegitimate child, by the sister of "Cutting Ball."

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, v. 240.

² Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on 26 Sept., 1598, two days after the funeral of Gabriel Spencer, calls him only "Gabrell:"—"Sence you weare with me, I have lost one of my company, which hurteth me greatly, that is Gabrell, for he is slayen in hogesden fylldes by the hands of ben-geman Jonson, bricklayer." This letter is signed "Phillippe Heglowe" by the ignorant scribe who was employed to write it for Henslowe: we mention this fact, because in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 51, it looks like a misprint. Heywood, in his "Apology for Actors," also calls Gabriel Spencer merely Gabriel. — Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43. Gabrel was the common vulgar pronunciation of Gabriel in Shakespeare's time, and so it stands printed in "The Taming of the Shrew" in the folio of 1623, p. 221:—

"And Gabrel's pumpes were all unpinkt i' th' heele."

necessarily have happened before 1598, and so far we are able to fix when "Henry VI., Part 3," was in a course of performance. Respecting Gabriel Spencer we have been able to learn no more than the day of his interment in the churchyard of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the register records that he had been killed (not adding by whom) and that the body had been brought from Hog Lane, where, perhaps, Spencer had resided: it is in these terms:—

1598. *Gabriell Spencer, being slayne, was buryed the xxiiijth of Septemb. — Hogge Lane.*

The funeral therefore took place two days before Heuslowe wrote to Alleyn, to acquaint him with the loss the company had sustained by the death of Spencer, in his duel with Ben Jonson.

We may be permitted, before we go farther, to notice two or three important points in the biography of Ben Jonson, that have not been previously ascertained. Having been born in 1574, he is supposed to have been married in 1594, but we have no where been able to trace that incident in any of the registers we have examined; nor have we any tidings respecting the death and burial of his daughter Mary, upon whom he wrote, with such captivating simplicity,

"Here lies, to both her parents ruth,
Mary, the daughter of their youth," &c.

We find, however, that at the end of 1599 he lost a son, named Joseph, who was buried on the 9th December, at St. Giles's, Cripplegate;¹ and that on the

¹ It is generally stated, on the somewhat vague authority of Anthony Wood (Ath. Oxon., iii., 737, edit. Bliss) that James Shirley (the last

1st October, the next year, "Benjamin Johnson, infant," was interred at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the various parish records the name is always spelt, not as Jonson himself spelt it, but Johnson, as he allowed it to stand on the title-page of his "Bartholomew Fair," 1631, and in some other places. The clerks, or whoever made the entries, gave the ordinary orthography of the name, and we have met with no single instance of the contrary. Another boy was christened Benjamin at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, a few years afterwards, the entry being precisely in this form:—

Benjamin Johnson, sonne to Benjamin, baptised 20 Feb., 1607.

The 20th February, 1607, was 1608, according to our present division of the year, and Ben Jonson lost this son about three years afterwards: the child was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, where it had been christened, and the entry is in these terms:—

Benjamin Johnson, sonne to Benjamin, buried 18 Nov., 1611.

We have met with no memorial of the son who expired (dramatist of the school of Shakespeare and his contemporaries) was master of the Grammar School at St. Albans in 1623 and 1624: he is supposed to have been succeeded by another master in 1625; and the following, hitherto unnoticed, registration of the baptism of a son at St. Giles, Cripplegate, would show that he had returned to London early in the latter year:—

"Christened. Mathias, sonne of Mr. James Shirley, gentleman, 26 Feb., 1624;"

i. e. 1625. It also tends to prove that Shirley had not adopted the Roman Catholic tenets quite so early as has been supposed. (See "Life," by the Rev. A. Dyce, i., vii.) It is impossible to believe that when he became master of the Grammar School, founded by Edward VI. at St. Albans, he was an avowed Papist, and had relinquished a living on account of his religion.

in 1635, nor of any other children. Ben Jonson's wife died, as is supposed, about the year 1618. He subsequently visited Scotland, obtained the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels in 1621, and, as we apprehend, (but the fact is new) re-married at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in the summer of 1623. In the register of that parish we read as follows:—

Married. Ben. Johnson and Hester Hopkins. 27 July, 1623.

At this period Ben Jonson was in his forty-ninth year: whether any children were the fruit of this union we know not; but, after a lapse of eleven years, during which Ben Jonson produced nothing for the stage, we find him, in 1625, again turning his attention to dramatic poetry, as if for the increase of his domestic means; and his comedy "The Staple of News" was the consequence. The substitution of Aurelian Townsend¹ for Ben Jonson in the composition of masques for

¹ He was a housekeeper in Barbican, near the Earl of Bridgewater's, according to the note of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in Collier's "Shakespeare," i., xcvi. The following, from the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, refer to him and his family:—

"*Christened. George, sonne of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman, 17 Dec., 1622.*"

"*Christened. Mary, daughter of Aurelian Townsend, gent., 8 April, 1626.*"

"*Christened. James, sonne of Aurelian Townsend. 13 Dec., 1627.*"

"*Christened. Herbert, sonne of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman, 23 Sept., 1631.*"

"*Christened. Frances, daughter of Aurelian Townsend, gentleman, 17 Nov., 1632.*"

Of these the only child he lost (at least the only death entered in the same registers) was Herbert, who perhaps had been named after the Herbert family he was buried 26th February, 1633-4.

the court, at the instance (according to Pory's letter to Sir Thomas Puckering) of Inigo Jones, happened several years after Ben Jonson had sustained a stroke of the palsy.

Our scrutiny of the registers of different parishes has enabled us to decide a point of considerable interest in relation to Inigo Jones, who was so much mixed up with early theatrical performances, especially at court. The ordinary biographical authorities inform us that "he was born about 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, London, where his father, Mr. Ignatius Jones, was a cloth-worker."¹ That his father was a cloth-worker is probably true, but he, like his son, was called Inigo. This point, as well as the exact period of the baptism of the great Inigo Jones, is settled by the following extract from the register of St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield:²—

Enego Jones, the sonne of Enego Jones, was expened the xixth day of July, 1573.

¹ Chalmers's "Biographical Dictionary," xix., 96. See also Wood's "Ath. Oxon.," iii., 806., edit. Bliss.

² Joshua Sylvester, the highly popular poet, translator of "Du Bartas," and the friend of Ben Jonson, lived at one period in this parish, where several of his children are registered: until we found the following entries, nothing was certainly known of his family:—

"26 July, 1612. Ursula, daughter of Joshua Sylvester, was baptized."

"4 Feb., 1614. A still-borne sonne of Josuah Sylvester was buried." He is said to have died in 1618; (Wood's Ath. Oxon., ii., 580, edit. Bliss) but, if the following relate to his widow, and she were "an honest woman," he could not have died until 1624 or 1625:—

"31 August, 1625. Bonaventura Silvester, daughter of Mary Silvester, widdowe, out of Proctor's house, was baptized."

The clerk, in various other entries relating to the family, made strange work of the name of Inigo, and spelt it in almost every way but the right, although never in its Latin form, Ignatius. Where and at what time his father and mother married we have not ascertained, but Inigo Jones, the friend, and subsequently the enemy of Ben Jonson, lost his grandmother rather more than three years after he came into the world: her name was Anne, and she was recorded as "the mother of Enigo Jones;" meaning, of course, Inigo Jones, the father of the artist and architect. We do not hear of the family in the parish after 1579; but between the birth of Inigo Jones in 1573 and that year, he had various brothers and sisters born and buried, and as nothing has until now been heard of them, we have subjoined their registrations in a note.¹

¹ From the register of St. Bartholomew the Less:—

" 11 Sept., 1575. *Philipp Johnes, the sonne of Enygoe Johnes, was expened.*"

" 14 Oct., 1575. *Philipp Johnes, the sonne of Inygoe Johnes, was buried.*"

" 3 Feb., 1576. — *Johnes was expened, being the doughter of Enygo Johnes.*"

" 12 July, 1577. — *Jhones, the doughter of Enygo Johnes, was buryed.*"

" 7 Sept., 1578. *Anne Johnes, the doughter of Enygo Jones, was expened.*"

" 19 July, 1579. *Anne Johans, the daughter of Enygo Johans, was buryed.*"

There are no other entries relating to the family in the same register, nor in any others that we have had the means of consulting. We may add that Webb in his inscription upon his master, Inigo Jones, mistakenly gave the date of his birth, "Natus Id. Julij, 1572."

We have already introduced the title of "Henry VI., Part 3," with reference to Gabriel Spencer; and in another scene of that drama, as it stands in the folio of 1623, we meet with the names of two other actors, which are inserted instead of those that might have been assigned to their parts. On p. 158 of that portion of the noble volume devoted to the "Histories" of Shakespeare, we find the following:—

Enter Sinklo and Humfrey, with crosse-bowes in their hands.

In the old "True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York," 1595, the stage-direction is "Enter two keepers," &c.¹ The name of Sinklo is also found as the prefix to a speech of a single line in the Induction to "The Taming of the Shrew,"² and no doubt both were meant for the same inferior performer, who also figures by name in the Induction to Marston's "Malcontent," 1604. It may be worth while, however, to mention, that his Christian name appears to have been William, that he lived in Cripplegate, and had children baptized at St. Giles's Church, in that parish, in 1610 and 1613.³ He is called Sincklowe and Sinckley in the registers, but evidently the same man; and we take it that he had been an actor under Henslowe and Alleyn at the Fortune, (though his name does not occur in the "Diary" of the former) and on that account resided near their theatre, where he continued after he had joined the King's players.

¹ Collier's "Shakespeare," v., 276.

² Ibid., iii., 111.

³ The parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, which until the reign of Queene Anne included also what is now called St. Luke's, seems, like St. Bartholomew the Less, to have been of old a favourite residence of

Humfrey Jeffes, who is called only Humfrey in the stage-direction above quoted, where he is coupled with Sinklow, is not unfrequently mentioned by Henslowe,¹ and seems to have been an actor of some consideration when he was playing at the Rose and Fortune, though he perhaps lost part of his importance when he joined an association to which certainly the best actors appear to have belonged. Nevertheless, as we have elsewhere remarked, performers, even of eminence in that day, did not stand upon their dignity by any means with so much pertinacity as they have since done, and those who filled the parts of kings and heroes were content to support very inferior characters in the same production and on the same occasion. This partly arose from the smallness of the number of members of which an association usually consisted; and it was often a fortunate circumstance that capable actors were required to double their parts: it enabled dramatic authors, in the theatrical phrase, "to write up" even the porpoises, players, pamphleteers, and printers. On p. 110 we have introduced a variety of entries from the registers relating to men no less celebrated than Thomas Deloney and Anthony Monday; and we may here add to these another name of an earlier date, but quite as celebrated, as the poetical author of the "Five Hundred Parts of Good Housbandry," which went through so many editions, and has been more than once reprinted in our own time. He lived in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, as may perhaps be presumed from the fact that he had a son christened there in 1572:—

"*Christened. Edmonde Tusser, the sonne of Thomas Tusser, gent., 13 March, 1572.*"

We did not trace the names of any other members of Tusser's family in the same registers.

¹ See his "Diary," pp. 99, 100, 102, 120, 218.

tions of a drama entrusted to messengers and attendants, in the confidence that their lines would not be thrown away upon incompetence, or made ridiculous by false pretension. Of this advantage no poet availed himself more frequently or effectually than Shakespeare; and those, who are not aware of the mode in which dramas were cast of old, have sometimes wondered how it happened that he could waste his poetry on characters so comparatively insignificant.

In the instance before us, Humfrey Jeffes had only the part of a keeper with a cross-bow, but there can be little doubt, were our information more complete, that we should find him fulfilling more important duties in the company of the King's players, though he might never attain such a rank as to entitle his name to appear in the fore-front of the volume prepared by Heminge and Condell. We feel sure, that several of the performers in their list had, at times, much more prominent characters in the plays of Shakespeare, than any we have been authorized to assign to them from the imperfect knowledge we possess of their station and abilities. The more we examine the subject, the more we find reason to lament the paucity of our materials; and we have now and then felt scruples in recording the small facts that have come down to us, with which, however, we have been compelled to be content.

We first hear of Humfrey Jeffes on 14th January, 1597-8, when he was playing under Henslowe and Alleyn at the Rose: he was one of Prince Henry's players in 1603, was transferred to the Prince Palatine in 1613, and must have joined the King's company be-

tween that date and 1618, when he died, having been buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on 21st August in that year, as "Humphrie Jeffes, plaier." We have every reason to believe that he lived in Southwark even after the Fortune in Golden Lane was opened, for "Mary Jeffes, daughter of Humfrey, a player," was baptized at St. Saviour's on 25th January, 1600-1. These are the only memorials of him that we have been able to recover.

Malone states that William Barksted, the author and actor,¹ was at one time a member of the King's company, but the evidence he produces only shows that he was one of the Children of the Queen's Revels in 1609, when he had a character in Ben Jonson's "Epicœne:" he was also a player in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Coxcomb," in 1613, and we recollect no distinct proof that he at any time belonged to the association acting at the Globe and Blackfriars.² On the other hand, it is certain that John Duke (another actor mentioned by Malone) belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's players

¹ In 1611 he published a poem called "Hiren, the faire Greeke," calling himself, on the title-page, "one of the servants of his Majesties Revels." In 1613, a play entitled "The Insatiate Countess" was printed with the name of John Marston upon the title-page; but when it was reprinted, in 1631, the name of William Barksted was in some copies substituted for that of Marston. The Duke of Devonshire has a copy with this peculiarity; and we have seen the edition of 1613 with the name of Marston cut out, and that of Barksted written instead of it in manuscript of the time.

² By "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn" it appears that Barksted was under Henslowe in 1611, and under Alleyn and Meade in 1616. Vide pp. 98, 130.

before James I. came to the crown: he was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," 1598, but his name does not occur in the list of players of "Every Man out of his Humour," 1599, nor in the patent of 1603. The fact is that he had joined Henslowe and Alleyn before 20 September, 1600,¹ and with the association of which they were the managers he seems to have continued. He was married, and lived in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and had four children christened at St. Leonard's at various dates between July, 1604, and January, 1609. Where and when he was buried we have no information. He had been an actor in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," before 1588, unless the John Duke, of the "plat" of that production, were his father, who was buried 22nd July, 1594.

The name of Beeston is extremely well known in our early stage-history, and Christopher, Robert, and William, all at various periods were actors. Christopher is the only one who seems at any period to have been one of the King's players, and that at an early date, while indeed they were still acting under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain. He had a part, probably as a young man, in "Every Man in his Humour," 1598, but afterwards united himself to a rival association, and we do not learn that he ever returned to his old quarters. He must have married early, for "Augustine Beeston, sonne of Christopher Beeston," was baptized at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 16th November, 1604. This child was doubtless named after

¹ Henslowe's Diary, pp. 182, 250.

Augustine Phillips, who in his will in 1605 called Christopher Beeston his "servant," meaning probably his theatrical apprentice. The whole of the Beeston family appears to have resided in Holywell Street, and the registers of St. Leonard's contain many entries regarding them.¹ We hear of Christopher Beeston in 1615, 1619, 1621, 1637, and at various intermediate dates, and he was at the head of the company occupying the Phoenix, or Cockpit theatre, in Drury Lane, till the breaking out of the Civil Wars: what became of him afterwards we have yet to learn. He seems to have made some modest pretensions to authorship, and addressed lines to his "good friend and fellow, Thomas Heywood," when the latter printed his "Apology for Actors" in 1612.²

In this Introduction, and in the following sheets, we have spoken, we believe, of every actor who is known to have belonged to the company, of which Shakespeare was a member, from the earliest times to the year when the first folio of his plays was published. We shall

¹ John Webster, author of "the Duchess of Malfi," often mentioned in the ensuing pages, and of various other plays, resided in Holywell Street, among the actors, although it may be doubted whether he ever trod the stage himself. Alice Webster, his daughter, was baptized at St. Leonard's on the 9th May, 1606. If the following, from the same registers, relate to his marriage, it must have occurred when he was very young:—

"Married. John Webster and Isabell Sutton, 25 July, 1590."

Our principal reason for thinking that it may refer to him is, that elsewhere in the register he is sometimes called merchant-tailor, a designation himself assumed in his City Pageant of 1624.

² See the Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 11.

be sorry if it is thought that in any instance we have been tedious in our details ; but the reader must bear in mind, in reference to certain unavoidable repetitions, that many of our early actors were performers in the same plays, and were concerned in the same theatrical events. It will, we think, be found that, wherever it has been necessary to recur to a point, adverted to in some preceding memoir, it has been done with as much brevity as was consistent with intelligibility. If one name, in particular, appear to occur too often in the foot-notes, the author may, perhaps, be pardoned, on the ground that he was necessarily better acquainted with that edition of Shakespeare, than with any other.

We have now only to express our very sincere thanks to the clergy, and to the subordinate officers of the different churches, the registers of which we have had occasion to examine : in every instance they have evinced the utmost liberality, and have readily assisted lengthened searches, attended, as they were aware, with no pecuniary advantage to the investigators. Had only the customary fees been demanded, so great a drain upon the funds of the Shakespeare Society would, perhaps, hardly have been justified ; but the reader, who proceeds no farther than the page to which his eye is now directed, cannot fail to be sensible of the authenticity, if he do not in all cases admit the value, of the information thus obtained. Our excuse (if any be wanted) is, that our volume relates to those who were, more or less prominently, engaged in the representation of the dramatic works of THE GREATEST NAME IN THE LITERATURE OF MANKIND.

Mr. Monro, one of the registrars of the Court of Chancery, communicated some important particulars connected with the Burbadge¹ family with the kindest alacrity, at the instance of the author's zealous and intelligent friend, Mr. F. Ouvry. No such inducement would have been necessary, had the author been personally known to Mr. Monro, who has since furnished him with some interesting information regarding Shakespeare, accompanied by remarks, evincing an intimate acquaintance with the most obscure points of the biography of our great dramatist.

For all the cheering aid received from Mr. Peter Cunningham, whose information is so extensive on matters connected with literary archaeology, and whose liberality is as enlarged as his knowledge, the only return the author can make is a heartily thankful acknowledgment. He regrets that he has no other names to record, for to him it is as great a pleasure to admit an obligation as to receive one.

J. P. C.

*Kensington,
July 20th, 1846.*

¹ Some apology may be necessary, and may here be inserted, for the non-observance in every instance of uniformity in the spelling of old names. In itself it is, as we have said already, a matter of small moment; and the appellations of our old authors and actors are so variously written and printed in the papers of the time, that some slight discordance has here and there crept in. Of course, where a document has been quoted literally, the orthography, whether of names or words, is in every case that of the original.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 7, line 9. James Burbadge, father of Richard, had a daughter named Helen (after her mother) buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, as we find by the register:—

"Helen, daughter to James Burbige, buried December 13, 1595."

Where and when she was born does not appear, nor why she was not buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where her father lived at the time.

Page 12, line 6. It seems by the will of Nicholas Tooley, in 1623, that Alice Burbadge had married a person of the name of Walker: he calls her "Alice Walker, the sister of my late M^r. Burbadge."

Page 30, line 9. We mean, of course, "in a new light" on this authority.

Page 30, line 21. Those who are advocates for the authenticity of the portrait of Shakespeare, as a painting by Burbadge, exhibited this year at the British Institution, and authoritatively imputed in the catalogue to the actor, will be of opinion that he had made farther advances in the art than we are at present disposed to believe.

Page 30, line 32. It ought to have been added here, that there was formerly at Dulwich College the head of a female painted by Burbadge, and thus described by William Cartwright, the actor, in his catalogue of the pictures he bequeathed to that institution in 1687:—

"A woman's head on a board, done by Mr. Burbage the actor—in an old gilt frame."

It is doubtful whether it is still in the custody of the authorities of the College, as some of Cartwright's pictures have been lost. There, however, still exists the portrait of Burbadge himself, which is described by Cartwright in these words:—

"Mr. Burbage's head in a gilt frame, a small closet-piece."

Had this likeness of himself been painted by Burbadge, no doubt Cart-

wright would have recorded the fact, as still more curious than the information that the woman's head was painted by Barbadge.

Page 118, line 14. Perhaps, instead of saying here "it was usual," we ought to have qualified the expression by stating that it was *not* unusual. It was more common in the registers of St. Giles Cripplegate.

Page 118, line 19. We learn from the registers of St. Bartholomew the Less that, on the 10th February, 1605, William Kemp was married to Annis Heyward. This could hardly have been our actor. If married at all, he was probably married many years earlier; and the following, exactly copied from the register of St. Anne, Blackfriars, reads much more as if it applied to him:—

"Lucy, daughter to Mr. Kempe—pla—buried 23 May, 1593."

The letters *pla* may refer to the profession of Kempe, as *player*, but more probably to the *plague*, which carried off many persons in the parish in 1593. The cause of death in such cases is usually designated in the registers by the letters *pl* only, or *plaug*. A "Joan Kemp, daughter of William Kemp," was baptized at St. Andrew's, in the Wardrobe, on 25th March, 1619. In fact, the name then, as now, was extremely common.

Page 120, line 8. For "Smutterfield" read *Snitterfield*.

Page 120, line 15. The following, from the register of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, may refer to Pope's marriage:—

"Thomas Pope and Elizabeth Baly, married 20 Dec., 1584."

Page 130, line 27. Philip Herne, the actor, mentioned in Henslowe's "Diary," married Avis Bryan on 21st November, 1607, at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. She was perhaps daughter to George Bryan.

Page 155, line 28. There is a woodcut of Thomas Sly and Kemp, the first playing, the other dancing, on the title-page of the "Nine Days' Wonder," 1600. Of William Sly a portrait was bequeathed to Dulwich College by William Cartwright: it is unfortunately now missing, but Cartwright's description of it, in his Catalogue, is in these words: "Mr. Sly's picture, the actor, in a gilt frame." The loss is deeply to be deplored, and it is hoped that the picture may yet be recovered. Lysons appears to have seen it in 1792, when he published vol. i. of his "Environs."—(See "Environs," i., 111.)

Page 179, line 27. We are strongly inclined to believe, that the "Mr. John Lowen," who died on 16th March, 1668-9, and was buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, was our actor, and that the "Mr. John

Lowen" of the register of Mr. Martin's in the Ficks, quoted by Abner, was a member of some other family. By the rate books of Mr. Paul, Church Street, it appears that in 1800 John Lowen was living in Church Street. In 1801 "John" is written against his name. In 1802 we find him in School Street, and he was still there in 1807, the word "shop" being put opposite to his name, to indicate that he was a shop-keeper. This was doubtless the "Mr. John Lowen" who was listed at Mr. Paul's in the spring of 1803, but we are unable to prove that he was identical with the old player in Shakespeare. We should hardly have questioned it, but for the extreme age he must have reached, if it were he.

Page 615, line 30. We may add the following to this note. It is from "The New Cambridge Actor," printed in 1817, but it may be doubted whether it first appeared there.

"Nathaniel Field, the player, being in company with a certain nobleman who was distinctly related to him, the latter asked the reason why they spelt their names differently, the nobleman's family spelling it Field, and the player spelling it Field? 'I cannot tell,' answered the player; 'except it be that my branch of the family were the first that knew to spell!'"

This anecdote serves to show how long the memory of Field survived; but the same story has since been told of others.

Page 61, line 1. This portrait was inscribed in Dutch College by William Cretwight. He left behind him, as we have stated, a catalogue of his pictures, which contains the following description of the portrait of Field.

"Master Field's picture in his shirt, on a board; in a black frame filled with gold. An actor."

The shirt is white, and it is encircled with black lace.

Page 619, line 30. But "three or four years," read *two or three years*.

Page 610, line 11. In the State Paper Office (Parliamentary Papers, 1810, No. 104) is the copy of an article headed "Field the player, letter to Mr. Norton, promoter, at Mr. Mary Street. 1810," which is that is a brief defence of the stage against Mr. Norton, who in his numerous and invective pamphlets against them. After a plain and respectful introduction,

testation so zealous and sacred, or why I salute you in a phrase so confused and wrapped, I beseech you to understand that you have bene of late pleased (and that many tymes) from the holy hill of Sion, the pulpitt, a place sanctified and dedicated for the winning, not discouraging of soules, to send forth many those bitter breathings, those uncharitable and unlimited curses of condemnations against that poore calling it hath pleased the Lord to place me in:" and then he goes on to complain, that Mr. Sutton had not hesitated "particularly to point att me and some other of my quality, and directly in our faces, in the publique assemblie, to pronounce us dampned." Field afterwards asserts that the preacher had endeavoured "to hinder the Sacrament, and banish me from mine own parishe church;" and goes on to maintain that "in God's whole volume (which I have studied as my best parte) I find not any trade of lief, except conjurers, sorcerers, and witches (ipso facto) dampned." He refers to the example of James I., whom he calls "our Joshua," as proof that players are to be tolerated; but he enters into no particulars, and deals only in general arguments in defence of plays and players. The paper has no signature.

Page 247, line 13. We may doubt whether "The Honest Man's Fortune" were originally acted by the King's players, as here, and elsewhere, supposed. The names at the foot of the *dramatis personæ*, in the folio of 1647, do not seem to be those of the association to which Shakespeare had belonged. If so, it would make a difference in the time when Field, Taylor, and Ecclestone, joined or rejoined the company of his Majesty's servants. We have written throughout upon the foundation that "The Honest Man's Fortune" was first produced by the King's players, and that the actors, named in the folio of 1647, were members of that association in 1613; but it may be an error. If it be an error, Field did not become a member of the company called the King's players until about three years before the death of Burbadge; nor Taylor, for the second time, until just after that event.

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MEMOIRS
OF
THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS
IN THE
PLAYS OF SHAKESPEARE.

RICHARD BURBADGE.

We cannot better illustrate the carelessness with which matters relating to the personal history of the principal actors in Shakespeare's Plays have been collected by their only biographers, Malone and Chalmers, than by referring to the fact that they both repeatedly consulted the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and yet failed to note the baptism of one of the children of Richard Burbadge, and the burial of another. This omission is the more extraordinary on the part of Chalmers, because he plumes himself highly on correcting errors committed by Malone.¹

The child, whose birth is unrecorded by either, is William Burbadge, born on the 6th November, 1616, about six months after the death of Shakespeare ; and it is extremely interesting, since we need entertain little doubt that the boy was named William in memory of our great dramatist, by acting in whose productions Richard Burbadge had attained so lofty a professional reputation, and with whom, as far as we know, he kept up his intimacy to the last. The child whose death escaped the observation of Malone and Chalmers was Sarah, the pos-

¹ Apology for the Believers, p. 428, note d.

thumous daughter of Richard Burbadge, who, having been baptized on the 5th August, 1619, (a fact noticed by previous historians) was buried on the 29th of April, 1625. We have no account of the death or burial of William Burbadge, but we shall have occasion to mention him again in the course of the following memoir.

There is every reason to believe that the Burbadges, who were so importantly connected with our early stage, originally came from Warwickshire. A family of the name was settled at Stratford-upon-Avon in the middle of the sixteenth century, and must have been of some consideration and respectability, because John Burbadge was bailiff of the borough in June, 1555, at which date we meet with the earliest trace of the Shakespeares there.¹ It also appears by various documents that Burbadges, like Shakespeares, were resident at a remote period in different parts of Warwickshire and the bordering counties. There was however a numerous family of the same name in Hertfordshire; and when arms were granted to Cuthbert Burbadge (the brother of Richard) in 1634, they were the same as those of the Burbadges of Hertfordshire, whence an inference may possibly be drawn that the families of Burbadge of Warwickshire and of Hertfordshire were in some way related.

The oldest member of the family connected with our early stage, as far as we have any information, was James Burbadge, the father of Cuthbert, Richard, and other children, whose

¹ Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, ii., 78; and Collier's Shakspeare, i., 61.

² Chalmers' Suppl. Apol., 154, note k. Malone and Chalmers differed irreconcilably as to the etymology of the name of Burbadge: the first would have it a corruption of Boroughbridge, and the last, with more plausibility, would derive it from Boar-badge. We do not consider it a point of the slightest consequence, because to settle it either way explains no part of their history: we may mention that in different documents of the time we find the name spelt Burbage, Burbege, Burbadge, Burbidge, Burbedge, and Burbadg.

names will occur hereafter ; but we are without the slightest clue to his reason for becoming an actor. It was a profession in bad repute before Elizabeth came to the throne, and long afterwards ; and poverty, peculiar circumstances of position, or a strong passion for theatrical performances, could alone have induced an individual to attach himself to it. We first hear of him as one of the players of the Earl of Leicester, when, in May, 1574, that nobleman obtained a patent for James Burbadge, (we give the names in the order in which they occur in the instrument,) John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wilson, authorizing them to act in any part of the kingdom, including, in express terms, the city of London — “as well within our city of London, and liberties of the same, as also within the liberties and freedoms of any our cities, towns, boroughs, &c., whatsoever, as without the same, throughout our realm of England.”¹

We may presume, from the place his name occupies, that James Burbadge was then at the head of the company ; but we cannot tell how long he had been so, nor, indeed, how long he had been a member of the association. We know that Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had a body of theatrical servants, travelling about the country under the sanction and shelter of his patronage, as early as 1559 ; for in June of that year he addressed a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting that they might receive from him the same license for acting in Yorkshire that they had obtained from several other Lords Lieutenant of counties.² The individual players are not there enumerated ; but, as James Burbadge had advanced to the first place in the company in 1574, it may not be too

¹ History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, i., 211, where the instrument, dated 7th May, 1574, is set out at large from the original Privy Seal preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster.

² Lodge's "Illustrations of British History," i., 307. The letter of Sir Robert Dudley is, however, printed more accurately from the original, now in the library of the Heralds' College, in the "Introduction"

much to suppose that he had been a member of it for some years, if he were not so in 1559. That he was an actor, and not merely a manager, we may be quite certain, because at that date actors only were members of theatrical associations; but no existing evidence shows the nature of the parts he represented. He may, or may not, have been a good performer; and the mere fact that his son obtained the highest eminence in the profession can prove little or nothing, since we are aware of many instances in which the sons of actors of a very inferior grade have been extraordinarily and deservedly successful; while, on the other hand, the sons of first-rate tragedians and comedians have turned out only qualified to sustain the most subordinate characters. Something may no doubt be inferred from the place the name of James Burbadge occupies with his four fellows, two of whom arrived at great distinction; but, at all events, early in his career, as far as a judgment can be formed from the pieces that have come down to us, the drama was not in a condition to afford much scope for the display of ability, whether serious or comic.

The players of the Earl of Leicester, fortified by the patent their patron had procured for them in 1574, seem very soon to have taken measures to establish themselves permanently in London. They had performed a piece at court, called "Mamillia," on 28th December, 1573,¹ and "Philemon and Philecia" on Shrove Monday, 1574;² and we can have no difficulty in deciding, that they must have been called upon to lend their aid for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, when she visited Lord Leicester at Kenilworth in the summer of 1575.

to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of John Northbrooke's "Treatise against Dicing, Plays," &c., p. vii. In January, 1560-61, "the L. Robert Dudley's Players" performed before the Queen. See Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," printed for the Shakespeare Society.

¹ "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," edited by Mr. P. Cunningham, p. 51.

² Ibid., p. 68.

One of the persons who has left behind him an account of the preparations and festivities on that occasion was named Lanham, or Langham, and may have been, if indeed we cannot say he probably was, nearly related to the John Lanham, who stands third in the players' patent of 1574.¹ After the company had concluded at Kenilworth, they seem to have entered upon the project of preparing a building, to be exclusively devoted to the representation of plays, in the precinct and liberty of the dissolved monastery of the Blackfriars, London. It is to be borne in mind, that ever since the dissolution of that religious house it had been used as the depository of the machinery, dresses, &c., for court disguisings, masques, and entertainments:² for this reason the attention of James Burbadge and his associates may have been especially directed to that neighbourhood; but it is possible that they would not have gone there at all, but for the hostility of the Lord Mayor, and other city authorities; who, notwithstanding the terms of the patent of 1574, and the support given to players by the

¹ The title of this singular and interesting tract runs precisely thus:— we give it literally, because we have never seen it so quoted, and the author was conceited in his orthography:—"A Letter: Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwik Sheer, in this Soomerz Progress, 1575, iz signified: from a freend, officer attendant in the Coourt, vnto hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London." It is without the name of either printer or publisher, but the author at the end calls himself "Mercer, Merchant-aventurer, and Clark of the Council chamber door, and also keeper of the same." His "Letter" is addressed "vntoo my good freend Master Humfrey Martin, Mercer."

² In the earlier Revels' Accounts, those, for instance, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII., charges are sometimes made for conveying machinery, &c., from the Blackfriars (where the royal wardrobe was also situated) to Greenwich, Richmond, &c. The apparel, &c., for court masques, was afterwards kept at St. John's Gate, near Smithfield, part of another dissolved monastery.

court and nobility, succeeded in excluding the actors of the Earl of Leicester, and several companies, from the immediate jurisdiction of the corporation. The precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars was out of the limits of that jurisdiction, but still in the very heart of the metropolis.

The theatre there opened was rather the conversion to dramatic purposes of a previously existing edifice, than an entirely new structure. In a remonstrance by certain inhabitants, presented against the undertaking, it is alleged that "one Burbadge (meaning, of course, the father of Richard) hath lately bought certain rooms in the same precinct, near adjoining unto the dwelling-houses of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Hunsdon; which rooms the said Burbadge is now altering, and meaneth very shortly to convert and turn the same into a common playhouse."¹ The subscribers to this remonstrance objected to the scheme, on the ground that it would create a nuisance in the neighbourhood; but there is no doubt that their representation was unavailing, because the theatre was completed, and ere long opened—not indeed as "a common playhouse," which the inhabitants apprehended, but as "a private theatre."² It was, however, so far "a common playhouse," that all persons were admitted on the payment of money at the doors: it was called "a private theatre," mainly by reason of its smaller dimensions, and from the circumstance that it was covered in from the weather. What were termed public theatres were only partially roofed, over the stage and rooms, or boxes; and their form, and the nature of the accommodation in them for spectators, were adopted from inn-yards with surrounding galleries, which, after churches ceased to be used, were among the earliest places employed for dramatic representations.

¹ History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, i., 227.

² The known distinctions between a common, or public, and a private theatre may be seen detailed in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," iii., 335.

At the period of the building of the Blackfriars theatre, we may be certain that James Burbadge had been some time married, and that he had then two sons living, Richard and Cuthbert, and perhaps a daughter, of whom we shall say more presently. Chalmers gave the maiden name of the mother of Richard Burbadge as "Ellen, the daughter of Mr. Brayne, of London," but it is certain that she was buried by the name of Hellen;¹ which may raise a doubt, whether her name were really Helen or Ellen. Chalmers appears to have derived his knowledge of the mother from the heraldic visitation of London in 1634, when Cuthbert Burbadge, the brother of Richard, was still living, and gave the information. We may therefore conclude, that the maiden name of the mother of James Burbadge was Ellen Brayne; and when Chalmers adds that Cuthbert Burbadge did not, in 1634, know who was his grandfather,² he must have meant his *paternal* grandfather, because he was well aware that his maternal grandfather was "Mr. Brayne, of London:" his paternal grandfather was, of course, a Burbadge, and probably of Warwickshire; but what was his Christian name, or his occupation, Cuthbert Burbadge could not tell.

Much new light is thrown upon the early history of the Burbadges, and upon the construction of the Blackfriars theatre, by several documents recently discovered in the records of the Court of Chancery, unknown, of course, to Malone and Chalmers.³ We shall insert accurate copies of these papers pre-

¹ She outlived her husband many years, and was interred at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the entry in the register runs precisely as follows:—"1613. Hellen Burbadge, widow, was buried the xv. of March." This, in fact, was 15th March, 1614; but Chalmers ("Apology," p. 386) who must have examined the register very inattentively, gives the date 8th May, 1613.

² Suppl. Apol., p. 153.

³ No suspicion of their existence was entertained when the author of the present volume printed his "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage." We are indebted for them to Mr. Monro, one of the registrars.

sently ; but it may be as well first to state distinctly and succinctly the points they establish. By a bill filed in Chancery anterior to the 4th November, 1590, it appears that the ground on which the playhouse stood was let to James Burbadge, on lease, by Giles Allyn ; but, probably, not having funds for its construction, he applied to Mr. Brayne, his wife's father, who advanced to him £600, on condition that James Burbadge should assign to him a moiety of the theatre and its profits. That assignment does not seem to have been executed in the lifetime of Mr. Brayne ; and after his death, his widow, Margaret Brayne (or Braynes, as she is once called in the title of the cause) was obliged to commence proceedings in equity, to compel a fulfilment of the contract. The earliest record of these proceedings is the following :—

4th November, 1590.

Between Margaret Braynes, executrix of John Braynes, deceased—plaintiff; James Burbage, and Richard and Cuthbert Burbage—defendants.

Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed by Mr. Scott, being of the plaintiff's counsel, that she having exhibited a bill into this court against the defendant, for and concerning the moiety of the theatre and other tenements which the said James Burbage was, by the agreement had between him and the plaintiff's late husband, to assign to the executors, administrators, or assigns, of her said husband, and to suffer him and them to enjoy it for and during the whole term to come in a lease made of the said theatre, or of the ground whereupon it stands, and of other the premises, to the said James Burbage by one Gyles Allyn, he the said James hath not only put in an ill demurrer to that bill, which hath been overruled by order of this court ; but also doth, by himself and the other defendants, take away the whole gains and benefit of the said theatre, and other the premises, from the plaintiff, albeit she and her husband have been at very great charges in building thereof, to the sum of £600, and did for a time enjoy the moiety of the premises, according to the true meaning of the said agreement. It is therefore ordered, that if the defendant shall not by this day sevenight show unto this court

good cause to the contrary, then a sequestration shall be granted of the moiety of all the issues and profits of the premises, until the matter shall be here heard or determined, or otherwise ordered by this court.

To her bill James Burbadge and his two sons Richard and Cuthbert (who were joined with him) put in a demurrer, which was alleged to be insufficient; and on the 23d March, 1590-1, the whole matter was referred to Dr. (afterwards Sir Julius) Cæsar: the name of Richard Burbadge is omitted in the title.

23rd March, 1590.

Between Margaret Brayne, widow—plaintiff; Cutbeard Burbage and James Burbage—defendants.

Whereas the defendants have been examined upon interrogatories at the plaintiff's suit, touching the breach of an order made in this court between the said parties, it is ordered by the Right Worshipful the Master of the Rolls, that the consideration of their examinations be referred to Mr. Doctor Cæsar, one of the masters of this court, to the end he may consider and report to this court, whether the said defendants, or either of them, have committed any contempt or not, that further order may be taken thereupon accordingly; and the said defendants, or their attornies, are to be warned when the premises shall be so considered of.

POWLE.

On 24th April following, for some unexplained reason, Dr. Carew (another Master in Chancery), was required to report upon the demurrer of the widow Brayne.

24th April, 1591.

Between James Burbage—plaintiff; Margaret Brayne and Robert Myles—defendants.

Forasmuch as this court was this present day informed on the plaintiff's behalf, that the said defendants have put in a very frivolous and insufficient demurrer to the plaintiff's bill, without showing any good causes thereof: therefore, the consideration of the said bill and demurrer is referred to Mr. Doctor Carew, one of the masters of this court, to the end he may consider and report to this court whether the said demurrer be sufficient or not: if not, then a subpoena is awarded against the defendants, to make a perfect and direct answer to the plaintiff's bill of

complaint, and to all the material points thereof; and the defendants' attorney is to be warned when the premises shall be so considered of.

ROTH.

In July Dr. Hone was substituted for Dr. Cæsar, with directions "to hear and end the cause" between the parties, if possible.

20th July, 1591.

Between Margaret Brayne, widow — plaintiff; Cutbert Burbage and James Burbage — defendants.

Forasmuch as Mr. Doctor Cæsar, one of the masters of this court, to whose consideration the defendants' examinations upon interrogatories touching the breach of an order made in this court was referred, cannot now attend the same; it is therefore by the Right Worshipful the Master of the Rolls ordered, that Mr. Doctor Hone, one other of the masters of this court, shall consider as well of the same contempt, as also hear and end the cause in question between the said parties in this court, if he can: if not, that he certify into this court as well what he shall find touching the said contempt, as also his opinion of the said cause, and by whose default he cannot end the same; whereupon such further order shall be taken therein as to this court shall be thought meet.

We do not hear of the matter again until 28th May, 1596, about eight months before the death of James Burbadge, when we find Robert Miles, whose name has before occurred, standing in the place of the widow Brayne, as plaintiff: his relation to the parties does not appear, but the record of the proceeding in Chancery shows, that between 1591 and 1596 an "arbitrament" had been agreed upon, and that Cutbert and Richard Burbadge had given one bond of £400 for the performance of the assignment of a "moiety of the lease of the theatre and of the profits thereof," and another bond of £200 for the performance of the award.

28 May, 1596.

Between Robert Miles — plaintiff; James Burbage and Cutbert Burbage — defendants.

The matter in question between the said parties, touching the moiety of the lease of the theatre in the bill mentioned, and the profits thereof,

coming this present day to be heard in the presence of the counsel learned on both parts, it was alleged by the defendant's counsel that the said plaintiff had not only a bond of £400 made unto him by the defendants for the assigning over of the same moiety, whereupon a demurrer is now joined at the common law, but also another bond of £200 made for the performance of an arbitrament made between the said parties, which the said plaintiff pretendeth to be also forfeited by the defendants, and therefore, as the said counsel alleged, the plaintiff hath no need of the aid of this court for the said lease and profits: it is thereupon thought fit, and so ordered by this court, that the said plaintiff shall proceed at the common law against the said defendants upon the same bonds, to the end it may be seen whether the plaintiff can relieve himself upon the said bonds or not; but if it fall out that the plaintiff can't be relieved upon the said bonds, then the matter shall receive a speedy hearing in this court, and such order shall be given thereupon as the equity of the case shall require: and in the mean time the matter is reynd in this court.

On this account the defendants, James and Cuthbert Burbadge, contended that the plaintiff Miles was barred in equity, and that he must proceed at common law for the recovery of the money secured by the bonds. What became of the suit afterwards we are without information; but these particulars cannot be devoid of interest, inasmuch as they relate directly to the origin of one of the theatres for which Shakespeare was a writer from the beginning to the end of his career.

In order to give these proceedings in equity in connection, we have necessarily anticipated various circumstances. We now return to the intelligence respecting the Burbadge family which we derive from other sources.

In the spring of 1576 James Burbadge and his wife resided in Holywell Street, Shoreditch, and there they continued during the whole of their lives afterwards, most likely in the very house which Richard Burbadge subsequently occupied until his death. Cuthbert Burbadge had also a house in the same street, as is distinctly proved by the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for, whenever a baptism or a death in

in the Burbadge family is there recorded, we find "Holywell Street" (or Halliwell Street, as it is usually there spelt) at the end of the memorandum. Such was the case with the earliest mention of James Burbadge, where the baptism of a daughter, named Alice, is thus entered:—

Alice Burbage, d. of Jeames Burbage, bap. March xith, 1575. Halliwell Street.

Chalmers placed this event a year later, viz., 11th March, 1576-7, which is evidently an error for 1575-6. Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge must have been older than Alice, but where either of them was born, or at what precise date, we have no information:¹ it was probably in the country, and there is ground for believing that Richard Burbadge, if not his brother, was born in Warwickshire. In the copy of a letter, written most likely in 1609, it is stated that Richard Burbadge was "of one county, and indeed almost of one town" with Shakespeare:² hence we might conclude that Richard Burbadge was born near Stratford-upon-Avon, of which town we have already seen that a John Burbadge was bailiff in 1555.

At about the date when the Blackfriars theatre was constructed, there were two playhouses in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, one distinguished as The Theatre, and the other called the Curtain. In both of these James Burbadge may have been interested, and his continued residence in Holywell Street may fairly lead to the conclusion, that he was a sharer in at least one of them. Malone speculates that Richard Burbadge "may originally have played at the Curtain;"³ but if he did so, his performances must have been of

¹ The registers at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, go back to the first year of the reign of Elizabeth; but, as already stated, they contain no entry relating to the Burbadges until March, 1575-6: consequently, nothing is to be found in them relative to the births of Cuthbert or Richard Burbadge.

² Collier's Shakespeare, i., ccxv.

³ Shakespeare by Boswell, iii., 182.

infantine characters, and he may also have sustained similar parts at the Blackfriars theatre at its opening, about the year 1576; but we have not a particle of evidence upon the point, nor do we at all know how old he was at the time the latter house was constructed.

We have searched the registers of several churches in the vicinity of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the hope of meeting with an entry of the baptism of Richard Burbadge, but without avail: our conjecture is that he was somewhat younger than Shakespeare. Upon one point in his early history we have distinct testimony, viz., that he was upon the stage, and filled a prominent place in a company, before 1588. Richard Tarlton (the most celebrated comedian of his own, or perhaps of any day, who may possibly have stood godfather to Richard Burbadge, and have given him his own Christian name¹) was the author of a dramatic performance (consisting, as far as we can now judge, of dumb show, and extemporal dialogue on a pre-concerted plot) called "The Seven Deadly Sins:" it appears to have been in two parts, and the "plat," or "platform" of the second part, as it had been agreed upon by the actors, has come down to us, and is printed in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage."² In this production, the name of Richard Burbadge several times occurs, and he sustained (as well as we can decide from the place his name occupies

¹ This speculation may derive some trifling support from the fact, that James Burbadge and Richard Tarlton were near neighbours in London, both living in Holywell Street, Shoreditch. They were also, probably, fellow sharers in the same company, for it is known that Tarlton was a performer at the Curtain theatre.

² Vol. iii., p. 394. It is also found, but incorrectly, in Malone's *Shaksp.* by Boswell, iii., 348. The original is still preserved at Dulwich College; and the production of it is assigned to Tarlton, on the authority of Thomas Nash, in his "Strange Newes," 1592, Sign. H. 2—"Hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous readers, &c., have I imitated Tarlton's play of the seaven deadly sinnes in my plot of Pierce Penilesse? whom

with those of other actors on the stage at the same time) the two characters of Gorboduc and Tereus: in this remarkable relic we read—

Enter King Gorboduc with two Counsaillors. R. Burbadg, Mr. Brian, Th. Goodale.

Enter Tereus. Philomele. Julio. R. Burbadge, Ro. R. Pall., I. Sink.¹

We may thus reasonably infer that Richard Burbadge had the parts of Gorboduc and Tereus; Brian and Goodale being the two counsellors in the first, and Pallant and Sinklow being Philomele and Julio in the second scene. The two out of the seven deadly sins here illustrated would seem to have been envy, as displayed in the history of Gorboduc and his sons Ferrex and Porrex, and lechery, as explained in the fable of Tereus and Philomele. This representation must have taken place prior to 1588, because Tarlton, the contriver of the piece, was buried in September of that year.² From the duties at

hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke?" In 1593, this tract by Nash was republished under the title of "The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse, or Strange Newes," &c.

¹ "Ro. R. Pall" was probably only meant for one actor, whose name was Robert Pallant: the copyist by mistake indicated the Christian name of Pallant twice, once by "Ro," and immediately afterwards by "R." A person of the name of Pallant continued connected with the stage in 1624, but he officiated as one of the musicians to the company of the King's players. This may have been the son of "Ro. R. Pall;" or, in his later years, after he ceased to appear on the stage, he may have become one of the performers in what we now call the orchestra, or, as it was then sometimes termed, the music-room: not a few of our elder actors were skilful upon several instruments. "I. Sink." was an abbreviation for John Sinklow, who sustained inferior parts in Shakespeare's plays, and whose name, instead of that of the character he filled, is three times printed in the first folio of "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies."

² At St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where the registry is precisely as follows: we give it with particularity, because it has never been literally

this period thrown upon Richard Burbadge, we are warranted in stating that in or before 1588 he was a prominent member of the company to which he belonged.

What was his age at the date to which we are now referring we have no means of knowing. Gorboduc, as already noticed, has two sons, grown up and competitors for the crown, and we can hardly suppose that the representative of their father could have been a mere boy; those who acted his sons were certainly men, and we may at least conjecture that Richard Burbadge was of age in 1588.¹ This supposition would carry back his birth to about the year 1567, making him three years younger than the great author in whose dramas he subsequently acted so many of the leading characters.

In 1582, Richard Burbadge had lost a sister (of the same name as Shakespeare's sister, who was born in 1569) but whether she were older or younger than the subject of our memoir cannot be determined: the record of her baptism is not to be found, but that of her burial runs as follows in the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch:—

1582. Joane Burbadge, the daughter of James Burbadge, was buried the same day (18th August).

This is one of the memoranda which Malone and Chalmers passed over without discovery: we may conclude, perhaps, that, like Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge, Joan was born and

quoted, and because it ascertains that Tarlton (supposing *Torrelton* to mean him, as no doubt it does) lived, like many other actors, in Holywell Street, near James Burbadge.

“1588. Richard Torrelton was buried the third of September—Holywell Street.”

It has never been mentioned that the name of Tarlton is so peculiarly spelt in the register, and it occurs nowhere else in the same form.

¹ We have already seen (p. 8) that in 1590 he was made, with his father and brother, a joint defendant in a proceeding in chancery respecting the Blackfriars theatre.

registered out of London, perhaps while her parents were making some theatrical expedition into the provinces.

Another important circumstance warrants the belief that Richard Burbadge in 1588 had arrived at the age of maturity. In 1589, when the company occupying the Blackfriars (then, as we apprehend, called the Queen's players, and subsequently the Lord Chamberlain's servants ¹) sent in a representation to the Privy Council, in order that their performances at that theatre might not be interrupted, inasmuch as they, unlike some other associations, had given no ground of offence, we find the name of Richard Burbadge immediately following that of his father in a list of sixteen performers, among whom Shakespeare came the twelfth.² James Burbadge was the owner, or part owner, of the playhouse, and head of the association, circumstances that may have given his son Richard an importance not otherwise due to his rank in the profession; but still we may feel pretty confident, that he would not have occupied that place, preceding such performers as Lanham, Pope, Peele, Phillips, Kempe, Johnson, and others, (to say nothing here of our great dramatist) if he had not reached such a time of life as rendered him capable of supporting characters requiring a person of manly age and figure.

Another material fact, which occurred about four years afterwards, tends to the same conclusion, and is connected with one of the most important events in our early stage-history.

The Globe theatre, on the Bankside, Southwark, was built in 1594; or, at all events, on the 23rd December, 1593, Richard Burbadge entered into an agreement with a carpenter of the name of Peter Street to construct it of certain materials

¹ So they continued to be called until the accession of James I., who, by the patent of 17th May, 1603, took them into his own service, after which they were known as the King's players. In 1590, however, Elizabeth had two companies in her pay. See "Revels' Accounts," Introduction, p. xxxii.

² Collier's Shakespeare, i., cviii.

and of specified dimensions.¹ We may suppose, in the absence of positive evidence, that at this period his father (who died, as we shall see, not very long afterwards) had relinquished his connection with the stage: if not, James Burbadge would, probably, have been the party to subscribe a bond to Street for the payment of the money as soon as the work was performed. It is more than likely, therefore, that in December, 1593, the father having quitted the profession, his son Richard had succeeded him as the head of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players, as they were then designated, a position he would hardly have taken, had he not been a man of perhaps five or six and twenty, which would have been his age, supposing him to have been born in 1567. His professional rank and standing will therefore fully account for the situation in which we find him at the period when the Globe was constructed.

We are not able to speak with any degree of positiveness as to the mode in which the money was raised for this undertaking: it is very possible that Richard Burbadge was the sole proprietor of the new theatre, but more probable that he had partners, and that those partners were some of the principal sharers in the Blackfriars, each putting down a certain sum for the purpose. We take it that, as leader of the company, Richard Burbadge stood forward to represent the general body of his fellows, and, having first secured himself, for greater convenience had agreed to become personally and individually responsible to the builder. Street may not unnaturally have preferred this security, from a man of known station and substance, to the separate liability of the different members of the association, who had various, and perhaps some of them only small, shares in the speculation. One of these sharers was our great dramatist, who probably left the conduct of the business to persons who were engaged in the more active duties of the profession: he was, precisely at this period, em-

¹ Malone's Inquiry, p. 87.

played upon the printing of his "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece;" and in the *Life of Shakespeare*¹ some reasons are assigned for supposing that the munificent gift of Lord Southampton might be made to him at this time, as a return for the dedication of the two poems, and with a view to the expense their author might incur as part owner of the Globe.

About two years after the Globe was completed, (supposing it to have been finished late in 1594) and when the company thus had a regular place for dramatic performances besides the Blackfriars theatre, which had been in constant use for that purpose during nearly twenty years, the association commenced the repair and enlargement of the latter. This step alarmed some of the inhabitants of the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, where the Lord Mayor and corporation had no authority, and they therefore made a representation against it to the Privy Council: eight members of the company presented a counter petition, in which the name of Richard Burbadge stands second, following that of the celebrated actor of clown's parts, Thomas Pope. What weight this circumstance may deserve we are not prepared to say; and in the same instrument the name of Shakespeare follows those of Pope, Burbadge, Hemings, and Phillips, and precedes those of Kempe, Sly, and Tooley. Thomas Pope in 1596 might be at the head of the comedians, and Richard Burbadge at the head of the tragedians of the company: Pope was unquestionably a man of eminence and property, and died in the autumn of 1603, or in the spring of 1604, leaving shares in the Curtain theatre, in Shoreditch, as well as in the Globe, on the Bankside; but nothing is said in his will of any interest he might have had in the Blackfriars.²

¹ Collier's *Shakespeare*, i., cxlvii.

² His will bears date 22nd July, 1603, and was proved on the 13th February following. See Chalmers's *Apol.*, p. 387, and *Suppl. Apol.*,

We have mentioned the characters Burbage sustained in the Second Part of "The Seven Deadly Sins,"¹ but it is almost certain that he had previously performed in "The Spanish Tragedy," by Thomas Kyd, if not in "Jeronimo," which is to be looked upon as a first part of that drama.² It is not to be disputed that he was the hero of "The Spanish Tragedy," at whatever date it may have been produced, since that part is distinctly assigned to him in a manuscript epitaph, which we shall insert at large hereafter, and which contains the following passage:—

Jeronimo

Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:

They cannot call thee from thy naked bed

By horrid outcry.

p. 162. He directs that his body shall be buried at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and he leaves £20 for his funeral and for "the setting up of some monument of me in the said church;" but it does not appear that any monument of him was set up, and it is unlikely that he was buried at St. Saviour's, as his name is not found in the registers, which were very regularly kept. The probability is that he died in the country, whither he may have gone to avoid the plague. See the Memoir of Thomas Pope in a subsequent part of this volume.

¹ The name of Burbadge occurs in the "plot" of another drama of the same kind, called "The Dead Man's Fortune," which may be found in Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 257; but as there is no indication of the Christian name of the actor, and as the "plot" seems very old, older than any other extant piece of the same kind, it is just possible that the "Burbadge" may have been James, the father of Richard. It is not at all clear what was the character either of them sustained; it may have been only that of a messenger, for our old actors not merely frequently doubled their parts, but took very inferior duties when occasion required it.

² Both these dramas are contained in "Doddsley's Old Plays," vol. iii., last edit. There was but one old edition of "Jeronimo," in 1605, but there are many known impressions of "The Spanish Tragedy," beginning in 1599 (which certainly was not the first) and ending in 1633.

The line

They cannot call thee from thy naked bed

is copied almost literally from an often quoted and ridiculed line in "The Spanish Tragedy,"

What outcry calls me from my naked bed ?

Act ii., sc. 2.

"The Spanish Tragedy" may have been originally brought out in 1586, or 1587, about the period when we suppose Shakespeare to have come to London as a member of a theatrical company.

We have mentioned "Jeronimo," as entitled to be considered the first part of "The Spanish Tragedy;" and it most likely, though by no means necessarily, preceded it in date of composition.¹ It is not improbable, if Richard Burbadge represented the hero of it, that it was produced on the stage before he had acquired his full growth: nevertheless, he must always have been somewhat below the middle height, and the epitaph just above quoted informs us that his stature was small:—

Thy stature small, but every thought and mood

Might thoroughly from thy face be understood.

Several passages may be adduced from "Jeronimo" to establish that whoever played the chief character was of small dimensions; and one or two of these, as it is a question relating to the personal appearance of Burbadge, will not be out of place: in one scene Jeronimo exclaims,

I'll not be long away ;

As short my body, long shall be my stay;

and afterwards,

My mind's a giant, though my bulk be small.

Even supposing Burbadge to have been a youth when he first

It sometimes happened that a drama having met with extraordinary success, a *first* part was afterwards written to it in haste, in order to take advantage of the tide of popularity: Henslowe's Diary supplies various instances in point, and such may have been the case with "Jeronimo."

recited these passages, and to have added to his height afterwards, we are warranted in concluding that he was rather a short man, who made up for personal deficiency by the magnitude and quality of his understanding: as in the modern instances of Garrick and Kean, it did not prevent Burbadge from filling characters which seem almost necessarily to require elevated stature, as well as dignified deportment. We know, on the authority of the manuscript epitaph, that he was Coriolanus and Brutus, besides being the recognized representative of the parts of Prince Henry and Henry the Fifth. We may be tolerably confident that he was well formed, because he was not only the original Romeo, but at different dates Hamlet, Pericles, and Othello. In all probability the tragedy of "Hamlet" was first performed in the winter of 1601, or in the spring of 1602,¹ and by this date Burbadge would seem to have become rather corpulent: Shakespeare, aware of this defect, as regards an ideal representative of the Danish Prince, makes the Queen allude to it in the fencing scene in the last act:—

King. Our son shall win.

Queen. He's fat and scant of breath.—

Here, Hamlet; take this napkin; rub thy brows.

On this account his figure, late in his career, may have been better adapted to Richard the Third; but that historical play was, perhaps, produced in 1594 or 1595, and at that date Burbadge may not have been more than twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. That he acted Richard the Third we have upon several pieces of contemporary evidence: the epitaph, before mentioned, states it positively; an anecdote,

¹ It has been supposed by some, on the authority of Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Joseph Taylor was the original Hamlet, but Wright only speaks of Taylor in the part, without stating that he was the first actor of it: the manuscript epitaph gives it distinctly to Burbadge, and we may be confident that Taylor did not take it until after the death of the original representative.

real or imaginary, respecting Shakespeare and Burbadge, contained in Manningham's Diary, under the date of 1601,¹ confirms the statement; and it is farther corroborated by Bishop Corbet in his *Iter Boreale*, where he tells us that his host at Leicester,

—— when he would have said King Richard died,
And call'd a horse! a horse! he Burbadge cried;

substituting the name of the player for the part he represented. To the list of characters in plays by Shakespeare sustained by Burbadge we have still to add Lear and Shylock, so that we may safely decide that he was the chosen representative of all, or nearly all, the serious parts in the productions of our great dramatist. In reference to his personation of Othello, we may cite the concluding stanza of a ballad on the story of that tragedy, obviously written subsequent to the death of Burbadge, and handed down to our time in a manuscript of about the reign of Charles I.

Dick Burbadge, that most famous man,
That actor without peer,
With this same part his course began,
And kept it many a year.
Shakespeare was fortunate, I trow,
That such an actor had :

¹ As this anecdote has been extracted from the MS. (Harl. 5353,) in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 331, and from thence necessarily transferred to various recent biographies of Shakespeare, it is not necessary to reprint it here: the only fact it can be said to establish is, that Burbadge was the original actor of the part of Richard the Third. A quotation apposite to the anecdote may be made from Middleton's "Mad World, my Masters," act v., sc. 2, where the courtesan tells Sir Bounteous, "O' my troth, an I were not married, I could find in my heart to fall in love with that player now, and send for him to a supper."

If we had but his equal now,
For one I should be glad.¹

How far the knowledge on the part of Shakespeare, that he had a performer at his service, on whom he could always rely, may have tended to the perfection of some of the great works he has left us is matter of curious speculation: perhaps the two circumstances acted upon each other reciprocally; and at all events Burbadge became a finer actor than he would otherwise have had an opportunity of being, because he was furnished with characters requiring and challenging the exertion of his noblest powers. It is an evident mistake in the preceding quotation, where it is said that Burbadge "began his course" with *Othello*; and it serves to show how little was known, even at the time when the ballad was written, of the precise periods when any of Shakespeare's plays were produced: if there be one point of his literary history recently more clearly established than another, it is that "*Othello*" was not composed until early in the seventeenth century.²

¹ This ballad may be seen at length in "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," p. 56. It is not perhaps to be supposed that the description there given of the death of Desdemona is a correct statement of the manner in which Burbadge acted that part of the tragedy. The horror of the scene may have been exaggerated by some subsequent and vulgar performer of *Othello*.

² See "The Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, p. 343. The company is there called "Burbidge's Players;" from his eminence, probably, as the leader of the association, and the performer of the hero of the tragedy in August, 1602. On the 8th February, 1603-4, he represented the body of the company of "his Majesty's Comedians," when he received at Court £30 as a compensation for not being allowed to perform in public, owing to the prevalence of the plague. Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," printed for the Shakespeare Society, Introd., p. xxxv. This seems the only occasion in which Burbadge stood forward in this capacity: money for performances at Court was usually received at this date by Heminge, co-editor of the folio of 1623.

Before we proceed farther, it may be well to give at one view the parts in Shakespeare's Plays which we now know Burbadge represented ; and we accompany their names, somewhat conjecturally of course, with the dates at which there is reason to believe they were brought upon the stage : the characters are in number twelve, viz. :

1. Shylock,	acted in	.	.	1593.
2. Richard III.,		.	.	1594.
3. Prince Henry,		.	.	1595.
4. Romeo,		.	.	1596.
5. Henry V.,		.	.	1599.
6. Brutus,		.	.	1601.
7. Hamlet, ¹		.	.	1602.
8. Othello,		.	.	1602.
9. Lear,		.	.	1605.
10. Macbeth,		.	.	1606.
11. Pericles,		.	.	1608.
12. Coriolanus,		.	.	1610.

Respecting other plays by Shakespeare, and other dates, we have no information in connexion with the biography of Richard Burbadge.

But this great actor did not, of course, confine himself to the works of Shakespeare, for, as the chief tragedian of the company, it was his business to perform the leading parts in accepted plays by other dramatists. Ben Jonson informs us

¹ There is no doubt that Burbadge is alluded to in the following quotation from "Ratsey's Ghost," a tract without date, but published four or five years after the production of Hamlet. Ratsey is addressing himself to the leading actor in a country association : "And for you, sirrah, (says he to the cheefest of them) thou hast a good presence upon a stage ; methinks thou darkenest thy merit by playing in the country ; get thee to London, for *if one man were dead*, they will have much need of such as thou art. There would be none, in my opinion, fitter than thyself to play his parts : my conceit is such of thee, that I durst all the money in my purse on thy head *to play Hamlet with him*, for a wager."

that Burbadge played in "Every Man in his Humour" (no doubt Kitely, while Shakespeare is conjectured to have been the elder Knowell,) in 1598; and in "Every Man out of his Humour," in 1599: he was most likely Sejanus in the same author's tragedy in 1603; and he had prominent parts (not now to be distinguished) in "Volpone" in 1605, in "Epicœne" in 1609, in the "Alchemist" in 1612, and in "Cateline" in 1611. Ben Jonson was doubtless fully sensible of his obligations to Burbadge, and in one of his later plays, acted by a rival company, to which we shall advert more particularly hereafter, he does not hesitate, consistently with the vigorous independence of his character, to pay a just tribute to him.

The epitaph upon Burbadge, from which we have derived so much information as regards the parts he sustained in Shakespeare's plays, also furnishes us with a few of those for which he was celebrated in the works of contemporary dramatists: they are the following:—

Edward, probably Edward II. in Christopher Marlowe's tragedy of that name.

Antonio, in Marston's "Antonio and Mellida;" but which of the two parts into which the drama is divided is doubtful.

Vendice, in Cyril Tourneur's "Revenger's Tragedy;" but miscalled Vindex in the epitaph.

Brachiano, in "The White Devil," by John Webster.¹

Frankford, in Heywood's "Woman killed with Kindness."

Philaster, in Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy of the same name.

Malevole, in Marston's "Malcontent."

In fact, the name of Richard Burbadge is found appended to the lists of *dramatis personæ* of various other plays of the time which it is perhaps needless to enumerate: he played, for in-

¹ From the old *Dramatis Personæ* of Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," 1623, we find that R. Burbadge took the part of Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, in that play: after his death it devolved, like Hamlet and some other characters, into the hands of Joseph Taylor.

stance, in "The Captain" and "Valentinian" of Beaumont and Fletcher;¹ and in the manuscript epitaph we meet with the name of Amintas, as that of a character for which he had been celebrated: we might think it a mistake for Amintor, if we were not perfectly sure that Burbadge's part in "The Maid's Tragedy" must have been Melantius: we recollect no play in which Burbadge is likely to have appeared, where such a personage as Amintas is met with. With regard to Malevole, in the "Malcontent," Marston himself informs us, in the "Induction," (if, indeed, it were not one of Webster's "additions" to the second impression of that play in 1604²) that Burbadge was the representative of the hero.

Burbadge is introduced in his own person into this "Induction." Sly and Sinklow are brought forward dressed as two gallants, who wish to sit upon the stage during the performance (as was then customary at what were called private theatres, though less usual at public ones) while Burbadge, Lowin, and Condell, appear there as members of the company, about to perform in the piece. Burbadge and Condell give some explanations to the audience respecting the character of the play, then on the point of commencing, but the former makes his *exit* before the end of the scene, having perhaps to dress for his part; and, after he has gone out, Condell informs Sly and Sinklow that Burbadge is to be the Malevole of the night. From this preliminary portion of the play we learn that it had, in the first instance, been performed by a rival company, under the title of "The Malcontent," but that, with additions, it was that night to be represented by the King's players, with the new name of

¹ One of the latest plays in which Burbadge acted must have been Fletcher's "Loyal Subject," which was licensed by Sir George Buc, the Master of the Revels, on the 15th of November, 1618. His name is also found among the actors of "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Mad Lover," &c.

² There were two editions of "The Malcontent" in 1604, the one by Marston only, the other with additions by Webster.

“One for Another.” It was nevertheless afterwards reprinted, in the same year as the first edition, with a title-page still calling it “The Malcontent.”

In another play, “The Return from Parnassus,” Burbadge figures in his own name in the body of the performance. It was not printed until 1606, but internal evidence establishes that it had been written and acted before the death of Elizabeth. In act iv., scene iii., two Cambridge scholars, called *Studioso* and *Philomusus*, employ Burbadge and Kempe, the first as the most famous tragedian, and the last as the best comedian of the day, to instruct them in the art of acting. Before the scholars enter, Burbadge and Kempe have a conversation, in which, among other matters, Kempe thus speaks of Shakespeare :—

Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer, Ovid, and that writer, *Metamorphosis*, and talk too much of *Proserpina* and *Jupiter*. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down; aye, and Ben Jonson too. O! that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow: he brought up Horace, giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.

Burbadge observes, “It is a shrewd fellow, indeed;” and just afterwards, *Studioso* and *Philomusus* enter, to receive their lesson: that of the one is founded upon Burbadge's performance of *Jeronimo* in the “*Spanish Tragedy*,” while Kempe gives his pupil instructions as to the mode of playing the part of a verbose and foolish justice. The whole scene affords strong

¹ In spite of what is said by Gifford (*Ben Jonson's Works*, i., lx) on the import of these expressions, which clearly refer to “*The Poetaster*,” it seems to us more than probable that Shakespeare had taken some part in the quarrel between Ben Jonson and other poets in consequence of that comedy. Dekker, however, armed himself with the cudgels, and in his “*Satiromastix*,” 1602, wielded them with more strength than skill, with more fury than effect. Ben Jonson's wrath was, however, excited, and, as usual, he gave vent to it.

testimony, if any were wanted, of the high reputation of both players in their respective departments.

Having said so much of the characters sustained by Burbadge and of his undisputed excellence as a tragic performer, we may here properly introduce a sketch of his abilities and capabilities, left behind, not indeed by a contemporary, because the writer could never have seen Burbadge, but by one who mixed much with players and theatrical affairs, and who must have often heard his praises from numerous persons who had enjoyed an opportunity of personally marking the effects he produced upon his audiences. Such evidence is on some accounts better than that of an eye-witness, who speaks merely from his own observation, and not from traditional authority, founded upon the combined tributes of numerous spectators. We allude to Richard Flecknoe, who, in his "Short Discourse of the English Stage," printed in 1664,¹ inserted the description of "an excellent actor," in prose: this he subsequently put into verse, under the title of "The Praises of Richard Burbadge," inscribing it to Charles Hart, who became not much less distinguished after the Restoration. Flecknoe's "Praises" are these, extracted from his "Euterpe Restored," 1672; and it will be remarked that they begin somewhat abruptly, and read only like a fragment of some longer poem.

THE PRAISES OF RICHARD BURBADGE.

Who did appear so gracefully on the stage,
He was the admir'd example of the age,
And so observ'd all your dramatic laws,
He ne'er went off the stage but with applause;
Who his spectators and his auditors
Led in such silent chains of eyes and ears,

¹ It is appended to his drama of "Love's Kingdom," which had originally appeared with the date of 1654. when it was republished ten years afterwards it was much altered, and to this impression the "Short Discourse of the English Stage" was first added

As none, whilst he on the stage his part did play,
 Had power to speak, or look another way.
 Who a delightful Proteus was, and could
 Transform himself into what shape he would;
 And of an excellent orator had all,
 In voice and gesture, we delightful call:
 Who was the soul of the stage; and we may say
 'Twas only he who gave life unto a play,
 Which was but dead, as 'twas by the author writ,
 Till he by action animated it:
 And finally he did on the stage appear
 Beauty to the eye, and music to the ear.
 Such even the nicest critics must allow
 Burbage was once, and such Charles Hart is now.¹

If we may believe some authorities, and there is no reason to doubt them, Burbadge was not only a great painter of living portraits upon the stage, but a limner of dead ones upon canvass: he was an artist as well as an actor, and attained considerable skill as a delineator of likenesses in oil-colours. In a

¹ That the reader may judge how accurately Flecknoe in these verses repeated himself, and what he had said eight years before in prose, we subjoin the commencement of his description of "an excellent actor" from his "Short Discourse of the English Stage"—

"He was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his part, and putting off himself with his clothes, as he never (not so much as in the 'tiring house) assumed himself again, until the play was done.
 * * * * He had all the parts of an excellent orator, animating his words with speaking, and speech with action, his auditors being never more delighted than when he spake, nor more sorry than when he held his peace: yet even then he was an excellent actor still, never failing in his part when he had done speaking, but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still unto the height," &c.

Malone was acquainted with this quotation, (introduced by Flecknoe, with some praises of Richard Burbadge and N. Field) but was not aware that in a later production Flecknoe had put it into rhyme, and had expressly applied it to Burbadge. See *Shaksp. by Boswell*, iii., 185.

manuscript volume belonging to the late Mr. Heber, of a date not much posterior to the time when Burbadge flourished, is found a brief epitaph upon him, thus headed :—

On the Death of that great Master in his art and quality, *painting* and playing, R. Burbage.

It is subscribed with the name of his contemporary, Thomas Middleton, the dramatic poet, and we may infer, perhaps, that Burbadge received some instructions in the art of painting. This is to present his character in entirely a new light, and it may be a matter of interesting speculation, whether he were not the painter of the picture from which the engraving of Shakespeare was made by Martin Droeshout, on the title-page of the folio of our great dramatist's works in 1623. If there were so many portraits of Shakespeare, as some have supposed, the player-editors might have found one, without much difficulty, with better pretensions as a work of art; and possibly (we only say possibly) one reason why Heminge and Condell took that upon which they employed the skill of Martin Droeshout was, because it had been painted by the actor who had figured so prominently in many of Shakespeare's plays, and who must have known him so intimately. It will be recollected that in this respect there was a striking similarity between Burbadge and another great actor, Betterton, who died rather less than a century after him: Betterton was also much devoted to the easel, and arrived, according to the evidence of some of his contemporaries, at no little excellence in painting the portraits of his friends and associates. Middleton's epitaph, or more properly epigram, excepting in its title, does not at all relate to Burbadge in his capacity as a painter, but to his death and "quality," (a term almost technical when applied to the profession of the stage) as an actor, and we have found a more appropriate place for it hereafter.

During the whole period that Richard Burbadge was connected with the Blackfriars and the Globe playhouses, thea-

trical speculations appear to have been highly profitable. In "The Return from Parnassus," before quoted, Kempe tells the two Cambridge students, who sought instruction from himself and Burbadge, "Be merry, lads; you have happened upon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come north and south to bring it to our playhouse;" and it would be a matter of no difficulty to accumulate much other testimony to the same effect.¹ The fact is, that nearly all the performers and sharers of that day, who had common prudence, died rich: Burbadge, from his youth upwards, must have been in the receipt of a considerable income, but it may be doubted whether he was what is usually called a careful man, until comparatively late in his career.

We now return to the domestic incidents of the life of Richard Burbadge, who, we have seen, was the person ostensibly concerned in the building of the Globe Theatre, which there is good reason to believe was completed in 1594, and opened in 1595.² Early in the spring of 1597, he lost his father, whom we have supposed to have retired from theatrical affairs for some years: he was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and the registration, which is in the following form, records as usual that the body was brought from Holywell Street:—

1596. James Burbadge was buryed the second daye of February.—Halliwell.

The widow continued to reside in the same place for about sixteen years afterwards; and Cuthbert Burbadge, her eldest son, as far as we have any means of knowing, was also an inhabitant of the same street, if not of the same house. He must have married before 1595, because on the 22nd June in that year was baptized at St. Leonard's "Walter Burbedge, the son of Cuthbert Burbedge." On the 15th of July suc-

¹ See this subject adverted to, and some evidence supplied, in an article in "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," i., 21.

² This point is considered and discussed in Collier's "Life of Shakespeare," i., cxlviii.

ceeding the death of his father, he buried a son, who had been named James, no doubt, after the person who may be considered the founder of this branch of the family. The baptism of this boy is not to be found in the registers that contain his burial, and we have no means of ascertaining his age, but it is stated, as before, that the parents lived in Holywell Street. The same circumstance is noted in the registers on the 30th December, 1601, when "Elizabeth Burbadge, the daughter of Cuthbert," was baptized.

Richard Burbadge also became a married man about the date to which we are now adverting, or a little earlier. The Christian name of his wife was Winifred, and that is nearly all that is known about her: whether she came from town or country we must remain in ignorance, and no record has been discovered of their union, or of the birth of their first child, Richard:¹ that they had such a son is certain (although Malone was not aware of it) for the registers of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, mention, under date of 16th August, 1607, that "Richard Burbadge, the son of Richard Burbidge," was then interred. On the same authority we find that on 2nd January, 1602-3, "Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge," was baptized, and this is the earliest notice in the books of any of the offspring of Winifred Burbadge. When Julia Burbadge was buried on the 12th September, 1608, her name was entered by the clerk *Juliet*, and hence it has been inferred that such was her real appellation, and that her parents had been directed to the choice of it by their fondness for the heroine of one of

¹ Unsuccessful search has been made in the registers of various churches near the theatres in Shoreditch, at Blackfriars and on the Bankside. It may be worth notice here that a person of the name of Robert Burbadge lived in the High Street, within the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and that he was a linen-draper. His name often occurs in the registers and token-books, but we have not been able to trace any relationship between him and the subject of our memoir. There were also Burbadges, brewers, in Cripple-gate, near the Fortune theatre.

Shakespeare's tragedies, in which the father had gained extraordinary distinction.¹

In 1603, therefore, Richard and Winifred Burbadge had two children living, and on the 16th September in the following year another daughter was baptized, Frances, at St. Leonard's; but the infant only lived a few days, its burial having been entered on the 19th September. They had no more children, at least none were registered at their parish church, until 8th August, 1607, when "Anne Burbidge, the daughter of Richard Burbidge," was baptized; but, as already mentioned, eight days afterwards they had the misfortune to lose their eldest son, Richard, who must have been at least seven or eight years of age. This severe blow was succeeded, on the 12th September, 1608, by the death of Julia Burbadge, so that the father and mother were at this date left with only one daughter, Anne. It will not be forgotten that Anne was the

¹ "His fondness for the name of Juliet perhaps arose from his having been the original Romeo in our author's play." Malone's Shakesp. by Boswell, iii., 183. This speculation is improbable, because, when Richard Burbadge had another daughter in 1614, he named her *Julia*, and not Juliet: when she was buried in the next year she was also registered as *Julia*, and it seems likely that she was named after her sister, who had died in 1608. The entries at St. Leonard's run precisely thus, giving us varieties of the name even in the same entry:—

"1602. Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, baptized 2 Januarie.

"1608. Juliet Burbege, the daughter of Richard Burbidge, was buried the 12 of September.

"1614. Julya Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, baptized 26 December.

"1615. Julia Burbadge, the daughter of Richard Burbadge, was buried the 15th day of August."

Malone introduces the second Julia with an *alias*, "a second Juliet, or Julia," but there is no pretext for it in the registers.

¹ Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 183.

name of Shakespeare's wife; and we shall see hereafter, as indeed has been already noticed, that Richard Burbadge named one of his sons William. It is remarkable, too, that Anne and William were the only children that appear to have survived their parents.

Unless they were registered elsewhere (as we suppose Richard, who died in 1607, to have been), while Burbadge and his wife were upon some theatrical expedition into the country, they ceased to add to their family between 1607, when Anne was born, and 1613, when Winifred (named, of course, after her mother) came into the world.¹ This event happened on the 10th October, but Winifred only lived till the 14th October, 1616. In the mean time her mother produced another daughter, which, on the 26th December, 1614, was baptized Julia. Richard and Winifred Burbadge seem to have been very unfortunate in losing their offspring in infancy, for this second Julia only survived until 15th August, and was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Thus out of six children, born between about 1600 and 1615, they had now only one left.

William Burbadge, who has been mentioned by no preceding biographer (and whom we have supposed to have been named after Shakespeare, then recently dead), was born, according to the register of St. Leonard's, on 6th November, 1616. We quote the exact form of the entry, because it relates to the namesake of our great dramatist, and because it has hitherto escaped all notice:—

"1616. William Burbadge, son of Richard Burbadg, baptized 6 November, 1616—Halywell Street."

No entry of the burial of a William Burbadge occurs at any

¹ It is not unlikely that, in consequence of the mortality in his family, Richard Burbadge, after the birth of his daughter Anne, then his only child, removed his wife for a time from the neighbourhood of Shoreditch, and left her in the country while he pursued his professional career in London.

date in the same registers, and we know that he lived until 1633, because he is recorded in that year to have been one of the "owners of the inheritance" of the Blackfriars theatre. The other proprietor of the freehold was his uncle, Cuthbert Burbadge (who died in 1636), and from them there appears to have been an intention, on the part of the city authorities, to purchase the playhouse, in order to abate what had long been considered a nuisance. Four magistrates were appointed, in 1633, to ascertain the value of the premises, and their original report upon the subject is in the possession of the writer of the present memoir.¹ James Burbadge, the father of Cuthbert and Richard, as already stated, was the first builder and owner of the Blackfriars theatre, and at his death, in February, 1597, he left it to his two sons. At the demise of Richard Burbadge his share came to his only son, William, but his brother Cuthbert was still alive, when the negociation for the sale of the playhouse was commenced in 1633. Whether Cuthbert Burbadge, like Richard, had been originally brought up by his father to the profession of the stage, is by no means certain. There was a distinguished bookseller of the time of the name of Cuthbert Burby, and it is often found at the foot of title-pages; and the coincidence of Cuthbert and Burby might lead

¹ It appears from it, that in 1633 Cuthbert and William Burbadge, "who (in the terms of the report) had the inheritance" of the Blackfriars playhouse, received a rent of £50 per annum from the company for the use of it: this they valued at fourteen years' purchase, and therefore claimed £700 as the value: they were also the owners of four adjacent tenements, let at a rental of £75 per annum, and "a void piece of ground to turn coaches in," which they estimated at £6 per annum: these also, at fourteen years' purchase, would come to £1134, so that their whole demand for the transference of the property was £1834. In 1633, money is supposed to have been rather less than four times its present value, so that the whole estate may have been worth nearly £7000. The report, or "certificate" as it is called, is subscribed Will. Baker, Humphrey Smith, Lawr. Whitaker, and Willm. Childe.

to the opinion, that Cuthbert Burbadge was meant by Cuthbert Burby, for everybody is aware of the extremely loose orthography of proper names at that period. Cuthbert Burby was the publisher of the 4to. of "Love's Labours Lost" in 1598, and of the authentic edition of "Romeo and Juliet" in 1599, printed to supersede the spurious copy of 1597; but we do not find his name connected with any other early impressions of the plays of Shakespeare.

The profession of the stage, especially to such as were sharers in companies, and owners of theatres, must have been highly profitable towards the end of the sixteenth and in the commencement of the seventeenth centuries; and there is little room for doubt that Richard Burbadge had been gradually accumulating property, and adding to that which his father had left to him and to his brother. His reputation and popularity were extraordinary, and his emoluments from various sources must have been large, and he was evidently much looked up to by his fellow-actors. In 1605, Augustine Phillips, the celebrated comedian of the same company, made him an overseer of his will, and, in case of the re-marriage of his widow, Anne Phillips, one of his executors, with a present of a silver bowl of the value of £5: the other overseers and contingent executors were John Heminge (who, as is well known, lived to be one of the joint editors of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623), William Sly, the actor, and Timothy Whithorne (regarding whom nothing is known), who each had similar bowls, while various bequests were made by the testator to his brother actors and friends; among them "a thirty-shilling piece in gold" to William Shakespeare. The widow of Phillips married again prior to the 16th May, 1607, when Heminge, according to the provision in the will of her late husband, proved it as executor; but Burbadge, Sly, and Whithorne, the other overseers, do not seem to have interfered on the occasion.

The last extract we have made from the register of St.

Leonard, Shoreditch, establishes that Burbadge still resided in Holywell Street, perhaps in the very house his father had inhabited, and left to him. In and about this spot a nest of actors had collected, originally attracted, and afterwards detained there, by the vicinity of two of the oldest, if not the very oldest, theatres in or near the metropolis. This was, no doubt, the motive that induced James Burbadge to settle there prior to 1576, when his daughter Alice was baptized at St. Leonard's. Besides the Blackfriars, he must have been a sharer in the Curtain or the Theatre, and we may feel confident that his property in one or both of these playhouses descended to his sons Cuthbert and Richard, who continued inhabitants of the same district.¹ Malone thought it strange that Richard Burbadge should have continued there, recollecting that Holywell Street was at such a distance from the Blackfriars and Globe ;² but he did not advert to the circumstance that his dwelling-house was probably his own, and that he might have a considerable interest in the receipts at the playhouses in Shoreditch.

While the Globe was in a course of construction in 1594, and while the Blackfriars was under repair in 1596, it seems most improbable that the Lord Chamberlain's servants, a highly popular association, would confine themselves to a joint occupation, with Henslowe and Alleyn, of a theatre in Newington Butts : that they did perform at Newington Butts at this period is incontrovertibly proved by Henslowe's "Diary" of his theatrical transactions. Our strong belief, therefore, is, that Richard Burbadge was interested in the receipts of a theatre in Shoreditch, at the same time that he was one of the owners of the Blackfriars, and a large sharer in the Globe : that Thomas Pope, an eminent actor in the same company as Burbadge, had

¹ No will by James Burbadge is to be found in the Prerogative Office, although he died and was buried in London. It is possible that he made none, and that his two sons amicably divided his property between them.

² Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 183.

a "right, title, and interest" in the Curtain theatre, as well as in the Globe, and at the same time, is established by his will in 1603.

Very shortly after Shakespeare is supposed to have retired to Stratford-upon-Avon, and to have separated himself from theatrical concerns, a calamity happened at the Globe, which probably no care on his part, had he been present, or on that of any other person who was there, could have avoided. During the performance of a play called "All is True" (a revival, perhaps, of Shakespeare's "Henry the Eighth," under a new title)¹ on the 29th June, 1613, the Globe was burned down, owing to some sparks discharged from theatrical artillery lodging on the thatch with which the stage was roofed. This must, of course, have been a distressing event to the leaders of the company, whom we have supposed sharers in the house, as well as in the receipts; but the loss, for aught we know, may have fallen peculiarly upon Burbadge, who was part owner of the Blackfriars playhouse, and may have been sole owner of the Globe, as he alone entered into the agreement under which it had been constructed in 1594. Burbadge was present at the fire, as we find stated in a poor ballad, no doubt published on the occasion, because it was then entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company, but which has only come down to us in manuscript:² it is entitled "A Sonnet on the pitiful Burning of the Globe Playhouse in London;" and the subsequent stanza mentions Burbadge, who, if the play were "Henry the

¹ See Collier's *Shakespeare*, v., 496, where a different opinion is expressed; but the writer of the present memoir is induced to qualify, if not to question the judgment there stated. Sir H. Wotton may have termed "All is True" a *new* play, not having heard that it was merely a new title to an old play. Marston's "Malcontent" was performed under a second title in its first year: see p. 26.

² It may be seen at length in the "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 387.

Eighth," under the title of "All is True," must have been the representative of Cardinal Wolsey on the day of the fire.

Out run the knights, out run the lords,
And there was great ado;
Some lost their hats, and some their swords,
Then out run Burbadge too:
The reprobates, though drunk on Monday,
Pray'd for the Fool and Henry Condry."¹

This shows also that the calamity occurred on Monday; and Henry Condry, so called for the sake of the rhyme, was, of course, Henry Cundall, the joint-editor with Heminge of the folio of 1623. It was possibly mainly owing to this disaster, that not a single line, in manuscript of the time, of a play by Shakespeare has been preserved:² they might all be consumed, with the rest of the stock, in the fire at the Globe.

The house was rebuilt in the next year, in a great degree at the expense of the king and the nobility;³ and what before

¹ The following stanza from the same ballad shows that the play, in a course of representation, was on the events of the reign of Henry VIII.; and the burden, "All this is true," confirms the notion that the drama bore that title on the occasion:—

All you that please to understand,
Come listen to my story;
To see Death, with his raking brand,
'Mong'st such an auditory,
Regarding neither Cardinal's might,
Nor the rugged face of Henry the Eight.

Oh sorrow! pitiful sorrow! and yet All this is true.

² Perhaps we ought to except his "Henry the Fourth," recently printed by the Shakespeare Society, under the care of Mr. Halliwell, from a MS. belonging to Sir Edward Dering; but it may be doubted whether the MS. be quite as old as the time of Shakespeare.

³ See the Life of Shakespeare preceding Collier's edit. of his works, p. ccxli.

had been thatch was replaced by tiles, so that a similar accident could not again happen from the same cause: therefore, let who will have been the proprietor or proprietors of the consumed edifice, they were not ultimately such severe sufferers as might have been expected. It has generally been concluded, though in the absence of any distinct information upon the point, that Shakespeare had no interest in the Globe at the period of its destruction, having disposed of what property he might have had in it before his removal from the metropolis. The probability certainly is, that most of the principal actors were sharers, in various proportions, in the theatre, as well as in what were called "the takings," and that the loss, whatever it might be, was thus subdivided among them.¹

In his progress to the highest rank in the loftiest walk of his profession, and during the period he maintained himself in that position, Burbadge had, of course, rivals, but his popularity never appears to have declined. His chief competitor, until about the year 1605 or 1606, was Edward Alleyn, who was at the head of an association, playing, until 1601, at the Rose theatre, near the Globe, on the Bankside, and subsequently at the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate. This contention is referred to in some coeval lines preserved at Dulwich College, in which Burbadge is called "Roscius Richard,"² but which it is unnecessary to repeat

¹ At a date considerably subsequent to the fire, we find that the Globe theatre had become the property of Sir Thomas Brand. This fact is stated in some old records preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and explains how it happened that he had the power of pulling it down in 1644. See Collier's *Shakespeare*, i., ccxlii.

² He is doubtless also the Roscius mentioned in the following epigram, from "The Furies" by Richard Nichols. 8vo. 1614.

In Fuscum.

Fuscus is turn'd a player; for in rage
He lately left his function for the stage,

here, as they are inserted at length in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed by the Shakespeare Society.¹ Ben Jonson mentions another of Burbadge's rivals at a later date, coupling them as if they were nearly equally celebrated: we allude to act v., scene 3, of his "Bartholomew Fair," which the author himself tells us was originally played at the Hope, another theatre on the Bankside, on 31st October, 1614. He there thus introduces the name of Burbadge:—

Cokes. I thank you for that, Master Little-wit; a good jest! Which is your Burbadge now?

Leatherhead. What mean you by that, sir?

Cokes. Your best actor, your Field.

Jonson's Works by Gifford, iv., 512.

To speak of Burbadge and Field together in this way was not intended by the writer as any disparagement of the former, to whose exertions Ben Jonson, like Shakespeare, had been indebted; but the author of "Cynthia's Revels," "The Poetaster," and "Epicoene," was under peculiar obligations to Nathaniel Field for the admirable performance of the parts allotted to him; and there can be no doubt, on other and more impartial authority, that although, in 1614, Field was a much younger man than Burbadge, he enjoyed a large share of popularity. Neither did Field's character stand high as an actor only, for he was the author of two excellent comedies, "Woman is a Weathercock," 1612, and "Amends for

In hope to out-act Roscius in a scene;
In care of which the fellow's grown so lean
That all men pity him: but, Fuscus, know,
Players do now as plentifully grow
As spawn of frogs in March; yet evermore
The great devour the less. Be wise, therefore;
Procure thou some commendatory letter
For the Burmoother—'tis a course far better.

¹ In 1841, p. 13; the first work issued by the Society.

Ladies,"¹ 1618. As far as we can judge, the low jealousy, since sometimes displayed among actors of different grades, did not then prevail to any offensive extent—at least we meet with few traces of it in any of the records of the time, and Burbadge always stood so well in public estimation, that through life he had no reason to fear a competitor. Alleyn, Kempe, and other actors of celebrity, tragic and comic, not unfrequently, according to the custom of the time, had money staked upon them in friendly wagers, that in the opinion of certain judges they would exceed particular rivals; but nobody seems to have supposed that it would be possible to enter successfully into such a contest with Burbadge.

It is an opinion formed upon such scanty materials as have descended to us, that up to the year 1604 the King's players, when performing at the Globe, were very much under the control and management of Shakespeare. He is generally supposed to have quitted the more active duties of the profession about this period; and certain it is, that just afterwards the company became involved in troubles, from which they had previously escaped. We allude to an offence given to the court, at the close of 1604, by the performance of a drama upon Gowry's Conspiracy; to an insult offered to the city authorities in the winter of 1605; and to a complaint to the King by the French ambassador in 1606, that in a play by George Chapman the Queen of France had been brought upon the stage in a derogatory manner: even James I. did not escape ridicule; and the consequence was, that for a short time dramatic performances were entirely suspended in London. We can hardly suppose that Burbadge was not concerned in some of these disasters; but the names of Kempe and Armin are those only which are mentioned in any of the

¹ Both were reprinted (with three other excellent dramas) in 1829, in a supplemental volume to "Dodsley's Old Plays," last edit. Field also, as is well known, joined Massinger in the composition of "The Fatal Dowry."

documents. A few years afterwards, indeed, Burbadge was implicated, but on a very different and venial account.

From early times actors were not allowed to exhibit during Lent, but by degrees the Master of the Revels had exercised the power of granting dispensations, excepting on what were termed sermon-days. In March, 1615, for some unexplained reason, the Lord Chamberlain issued an order, prohibiting all dramatic representations during Lent, which order appears to have been disregarded by several of the companies in London. A warrant, dated 29th March, was therefore put into the hands of one of the messengers of the Privy Council, requiring Heminge, Burbadge,¹ and other performers named in it, belonging to different associations, to appear on the Friday following, at eight in the morning, to answer for their conduct. The register of the Privy Council contains no farther notice of the transaction, and it is therefore probable that the offenders were not compelled to attend, having in the mean time made due and satisfactory submission.² We conclude that

¹ In his *Masque of Christmas* (as Malone has observed) Burbadge and "old Mr. Heminge" are spoken of together as the heads of the King's players.

² The following is the entry in the registers of the Privy Council, and we insert it chiefly to bring before the reader the names of the different players included in the accusation:—

" 29 March, 1615.

" A Warrant to Sentie, one of the messengers.

" Whereas John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge, Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, John Newton, Thomas Downton, Humphrey Jeffes, with others, stage-players, in and about the city of London, have presumed, notwithstanding the commandment of the Lord Chamberlain, signified unto them by the Master of the Revels, to play this prohibited time of Lent. These are, therefore, to will and command you to make your repair unto the persons above named, and to charge them, in his Majesty's name, to make their appearance here before us, of his Majesty's Privy Council, on Friday next, at eight o'clock of the

during the whole of Lent that year there were no theatrical performances, but afterwards the Lord Chamberlain seems to have permitted the Master of the Revels again to exercise his discretionary jurisdiction.

A few months after thus incurring the displeasure of persons in authority, Burbadge and his wife, as already mentioned, sustained a domestic affliction by the loss of their second Julia: she was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 15th August, 1615, and in the next year they lost their daughter Winifred, who was buried on the 14th October: they were consoled in less than a month afterwards by the birth of their son William, who came into the world rather more than six months posterior to the death of the great dramatist, after whom we have supposed him to have been named, in affectionate remembrance of long intimacy and ardent admiration.

At this date, according to our conjecture as to the period of his birth, Richard Burbadge was about forty-nine years old, and he continued in full possession of his powers, and to give the town the benefit of them, for about four years afterwards: he died, as we can now prove, on the 13th March, 1618-19,¹ the day when Malone supposed him to have expired, and not on the 9th March, as erroneously stated by Camden in his *Annals of James I.*, where he styles him *alter Roscius*—. “1619. *Martij 9. Richardus Burbadge, alter Roscius, obiit.*” The manuscript epitaph, to which we have before often referred, without any excuse or delay. And in the mean time that neither they, nor the rest of their company, presume to present any plays or interludes, as they will answer the contrary at their perils.”

The only actors in this enumeration who appear to have belonged to the company of the King's players were Heminge and Burbadge: the rest were chiefly performers at the Fortune theatre.

¹ In “The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage,” i., p. 430, it is stated by a mistake (of which others have availed themselves) that Burbadge died on 13th March, 1619-20.

ferred, gives not only the day of the month, but the day of the week when he expired, viz., "on Saturday in Lent," 13th March. He was buried three days afterwards at St, Leonard's, Shoreditch, and we subjoin an exact copy of the register :—

" 1618. Richard Burbadge, player, was buried the xvjth of March—Halliwell Street."

It was not very common in this parish to record the occupation of the deceased ; but this instance was an exception to the rule, as a tribute, perhaps, to the celebrity of the individual in his quality. We have no trace that Burbadge ever resided in Southwark ; but it is remarkable that, in one of the old books preserved at St. Saviour's, the death of Burbadge is briefly noted, as if it were so important an event in the district in which the Globe theatre was situated, as to require some memorandum by the clerk : the words are, " Mr. Burbadge dyed 1618," without giving the month or day. Having expired on the 13th March, he had made his will, which is nuncupative, only on the preceding day, and in the following form :—

Memorandum.—That on Friday the twelfth of March, anno Domini one thousand six hundred and eighteen, Richard Burbadge, of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, gent., being sick in body, but of good and perfect remembrance, did make his last will and testament nuncupative, in manner and form following, viz.:—he, the said Richard, did nominate and appoint his well-beloved wife, Winifride Burbadge, to be sole executrix of all his goods and chattels whatsoever, in the presence and hearing of the persons undernamed :—

CUTHBERT BURBADGE, brother to the testator.

The mark of × ELIZABETH, his wife.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

ANNE LANCASTER.

RICHARD ROBINSON.

The mark of × ELIZABETH GRAVES.

HENRY JACKSONNE.¹

¹ The will was written on a sheet of ordinary foolscap by the "brother to the testator," as appears by the identity of the handwriting of Cuthbert

The widow did not prove the will until more than a month afterwards, and it was duly entered thus :—

Probatum fuit testamentum superscriptum apud London, coram Judice, 29^o Aprilis, 1619, Juramento Willelmo Burbidge relator dicti defuncti, et executoris in eodem testamento nominato, cui commissa fuit administratio de bono, &c., jurat.

She was left by her husband *overdote*, and in the beginning of August she gave birth to a daughter, who was baptised at St. Leonard's as "Mara, the daughter of Wynnedred Burbidge, widow," on the 5th August, 1619. Thus three children survived the father—Anne, William, and Mara; but the last was buried on 29th April, 1625, a fact thus recorded in the register of St. Leonard's, although Malone and Chalmers failed to discover it :—

1625. Mara Burbidge was buried the 29th of April.

Cuthbert Burbidge, "brother to the testator," and Ellen both, his wife (who made her mark as a witness to the will of Richard Burbidge), both died in 1636, and were both buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street; the first on the 17th September, and the last on the 1st October. Nicholas Tooley and Richard Robinson, two other witnesses to the will, were actors enumerated in the list at the beginning of the folio of Shakespeare's Plays in 1623; but of Anne Lancaster, Elizabeth Craven, and Henry Jackson, the three other witnesses, nothing seems known.

Malone is silent upon the point, but Chalmers asserts without qualification, that Richard Burbidge was "carried off by the plague."¹ Such may have been the case, but there exists no evidence to support the statement, and one or two facts may be adduced, which are strongly opposed to it. The Burbidge when he subscribed it as the first witness he wrote a remarkably plain fine hand, and as if he had been educated a scrivener. It occupies, including the signatures of the witnesses and the jurat, only one side of the sheet.

¹ *Apology for the Believers, &c.*, p. 420.

first of these is, that having died on the 18th March, he was not buried until three days afterwards : under any circumstances it was not at that period very usual to keep a corpse above ground so long as three days ; but we should think it most unlikely, if death had been produced by an infectious and malignant disorder, as that species of putrid fever then denominated the plague. This alone would appear conclusive ; but, in addition, we may mention, that no virulent disease of the kind was at that time so prevalent as to put a stop to performances at the theatres, which was always the case when the mortality in London was considerably above the average. The terms also of the manuscript epitaph upon Burbadge (which we shall presently quote at large) do not support the notion that he died of the plague, but rather of palsy, which first affected him as such :—

Hadst thou but spoke to Death, and us'd the power
 Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
 Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
 And quite been charm'd with thy all-charming art :
 'Tis Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
He first made silence on thy wondrous tongue,
 'Then on the rest, &c.

The suddenness of the attack, which is always the case with palsy, may account for the fact that Burbadge left no written testament behind him.

There is one document in existence, which, had we no other evidence to the contrary, might have been considered sufficient to prove that Burbadge lived until after the 27th March, 1610 : it is a Privy Seal, bearing date at Westminster on that day, authorising the King's servants to continue their performances at the Blackfriars and Swan at all times, when the deaths in London by "the infection of the plague" did not exceed forty in the week : in the list of players, as headed now, the name of Richard Burbadge comes second (following that of John Heminge), as if he were still an acting member

of the company, although he had really been dead a fortnight.¹ How to explain the circumstance we know not, unless the instrument had been drawn up, though not signed, before the illness of Burbadge; or unless the fact, sufficiently notorious, were in some way concealed from persons in authority, lest it should make some difference as to the concession of the privilege. The object of this renewal of the royal license of May, 1603, was clearly to settle the right of the players to persevere in their performances in the Blackfriars, which, even as recently as January, 1618-19, the Lord Mayor had made a fresh effort to terminate by his own authority.

It is quite true that theatrical representations were entirely suspended at the time of the death of Richard Burbadge, not because it was Lent, nor on account of the prevalence of the plague, but in consequence of the recent death of Queen Anne, who had expired on 1st March. The royal funeral was postponed until 29th April, and did not take place until 13th May, during the whole of which time no plays were permitted to be acted. This circumstance is adverted to in Middleton's lines on the death of Burbadge, as painter and player, the heading of which we have already given, (p. 30) and which we now subjoin, from a manuscript once the property of Mr. Heber:—

Astronomers and star-gazers this year
Write but of four eclipses—five appear:
Death interposing Burbage, and their staying,
Hath made a visible eclipse of playing.

THO. MIDDLETON.

“Their staying” refers to the inhibition of all plays until after the Queen's funeral, which is also mentioned in a letter from John Chamberlaine, the correspondent of Sir Dudley Carlton, then ambassador at the Hague: his communication bears date the 19th March, six days after the decease of Burbadge, and

¹ For the document itself, with an entire list of the company at this date, see “The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage,” i., 416.

its contents are important in reference to the subject of the present memoir, because we learn from it that Burbadge, according to report at the time, had died rich ; that is to say, worth about £1200 a year, of our present money, in land, without taking into account his personal property. Chamberlaine's words are these :— “ The funeral [of the Queen] is put off to the 29th of next month, to the great hinderance of our players, which are forbidden to play so long as her body is above ground : one special man among them, Burbadge, is lately dead, and hath left, they say, better than £300 land.”¹

In the language of that time, the terms “ £300 land ” meant £300 a year in land, and money is calculated to have been then at least four times as valuable as at present. Burbadge's will was evidently made *in extremis*, although he lived until the next day, or it would have been put into writing and subscribed ; and nothing is said in it about the amount or description of any of his property, excepting that he left his wife “ sole executrix of all his goods and chattels,” under which terms, of course, lands would not pass : we are to understand, therefore, that he left the disposal of his landed property to the ordinary and known operation of the law. He was interred, as before stated, on the 16th March, and the register of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, records the event precisely in the manner we have pointed out on a preceding page.

Of course, 16 March, 1618, in the entry, is 1619, according to our present mode of computing the year ; and “ Halliwell Street ” meant Holywell Street, where the Burbadges had long resided.

The sudden and unexpected death of Burbadge, the chief supporter of all the great tragic parts at the Blackfriars and at the Globe, must have been a severe blow to the company : how

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, i., p. ccxxii. The original letter from Chamberlaine is in the State Paper Office.

they recovered from it is not ascertained, but as Queen Anne was not buried, and the different associations could not therefore begin to act again, until 13th May, they had nearly two months to find substitutes for Burbadge; for it is not likely that any one performer would have been deemed equal to the numerous characters in which he had so long given his audiences complete satisfaction. Before 1619 we find Nathaniel Field one of the King's players, but there is reason to believe that Joseph Taylor was again taken into the association about that date: these two, and John Lowen, divided Burbadge's parts between them, and we gather from Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, that Hamlet was one of the characters to which Taylor succeeded.¹

Many elegiac effusions were, no doubt, poured forth on the death of Burbadge, since not a few poets must have been under heavy obligations to him, and must have felt his loss severely: however, only three or four of these have survived; and what remain to us are anything but favourable specimens of the abilities of their authors: not one of them, as far as we know, was printed at the time. "*Exit Burbadge*," is the simple inscription assigned to him in a volume among the Ashmolean manuscripts,² which also found its way into "*Camden's Remains*," by Philpotts: it is brief, but in much better taste than some of the more laboured productions on the occasion. Take, for instance, the subsequent, which is found in MS. Sloane, No. 1786, in the British Museum:—

EPITAPH ON MR. RICHARD BURBADGE, THE PLAYER.

This life's a play, scened out by nature's art,
Where every man hath his allotted part.

¹ His words are, "Taylor acted Hamlet incomparably well," and hence some have hastily supposed that he was the original Hamlet, but the fact, as will be seen presently, is otherwise. Burbadge was the first Hamlet, and Taylor only took the part after the death of the person whom Shakespeare chose as the representative of the Danish prince.

² MS. Ashmol., No. 38, fol. 190.

This man hath now, as many men can tell,
Ended his part, and he hath acted well.
The play now ended, think his grave to be
The retiring house of his sad tragedy;
Where to give his fame this be not afraid:
Here lies the best tragedian ever play'd."

The truth of this tribute (which is rather inaccurately quoted by Malone¹) may be justly deemed its sole recommendation; and it is not only supported by the evidence supplied by the characters Burbadge is known to have sustained, but by the opinion of Sir Richard Baker, who was a competent judge from his tastes and acquirements, was well acquainted with the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries, and must have had many opportunities of seeing Burbadge: Sir Richard Baker, as Malone informs us, was born in 1568, and died in 1645. He says that "Richard Burbadge and Edward Alleyn were two such actors as no age must ever look to see the like."² The instructions to the players in "Hamlet" prove indisputably that Shakespeare was perfectly acquainted with the theory of acting, and throughout his career he had the opportunity of seeing the practice of it admirably illustrated by Burbadge.

We have now only to subjoin the elegy upon Burbadge, from which we have already made several quotations, and which was copied many years ago from a manuscript in the possession of the late Mr. Heber: it contains, as we have shown, an enumeration of various parts in which Burbadge was distinguished; but the same collector had another copy, less full and perfect in this respect, as if the author had not intended in the first instance to give Burbadge's characters, because they were matters of notoriety at the time, although he afterwards thought fit to introduce them, in order to render

¹ Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 186.

² Chronicle, fol., London, 1653, p. 581.

his tribute more complete. As far as posterity is concerned, we are much obliged to him ; for, had he not done so, we could only have guessed at the representative of most of Shakespeare's characters, forming our judgment, as to Burbadge's claim, upon the prominence of the personage in the drama, and the eminence of the actor in the association. Little can be advanced on the merits of the ensuing production ; and though to some an apology may be necessary for its length, others, who are interested in such matters, would be satisfied with no excuse, were we to omit any part of it.

A FUNERAL ELEGY

ON THE DEATH OF THE FAMOUS ACTOR, RICHARD BURBADGE,
WHO DIED ON SATURDAY IN LENT, THE 13TH OF MARCH, 1618.

Some skilful limner help me! If not so,
Some sad tragedian to express my woe!
Alas! he's gone, that could the best, both limn
And act my grief;¹ and 'tis for only him
That I invoke this strange assistance to it,
And on the point invoke himself to do it;
For none but Tully Tully's praise can tell,
And no man act a grief, or act so well.

He's gone, and with him what a world are dead,
Friends, every one, and what a blank instead!
Take him for all in all, he was a man
Not to be match'd, and no age ever can.
No more young Hamlet, though but scant of breath,
Shall cry "Revenge!" for his dear father's death.
Poor Romeo never more shall tears beget
For Juliet's love and cruel Capulet:
Harry shall not be seen as king or prince,
'They died with thee, dear Dick, [and not long since]
Not to revive again. Jeronimo
Shall cease to mourn his son Horatio:

¹ Another proof that Burbadge both painted and acted.

They cannot call thee from thy naked bed
 By horrid outcry ; and Antonio's dead.
 Edward shall lack a representative ;
 And Crookback, as befits, shall cease to live.
 Tyrant Macbeth, with unwash'd, bloody hand,
 We vainly now may hope to understand.
 Brutus and Marcius henceforth must be dumb,
 For ne'er thy like upon the stage shall come,
 To charm the faculty of ears and eyes,
 Unless we could command the dead to rise.
 Vindex is gone, and what a loss was he !
 Frankford, Brachiano, and Malevole.
 Heart-broke Philaster, and Amintas too,
 Are lost for ever ; with the red-hair'd Jew,
 Which sought the bankrupt merchant's pound of flesh,
 By woman-lawyer caught in his own mesh.
 What a wide world was in that little space,
 Thyself a world—the Globe thy fittest place !
Thy stature small, but every thought and mood
Might thoroughly from thy face be understood ;
 And his whole action he could change with ease
 From ancient Lear to youthful Pericles.
 But let me not forget one chiefest part,
 Wherein, beyond the rest, he mov'd the heart ;
 The grieved Moor, made jealous by a slave,
 Who sent his wife to fill a timeless grave,
 Then slew himself upon the bloody bed.
 All these and many more are with him dead.

Hereafter must our Poets cease to write.
 Since thou art gone, dear Dick, a tragic night
 Will wrap our black-hung stage : he made a Poet,
 And those who yet remain full surely know it ;
 For, having Burbage to give forth each line,
 It fill'd their brain with fury more divine.
 Oft have I seen him leap into the grave,
 Suiting the person, which he seem'd to have,

Of a mad lover, with so true an eye,
 That there I would have sworn he meant to die.
 Oft have I seen him play his part in jest
 So lively, that spectators and the rest
 Of his sad crew, whilst he but seem'd to bleed,
 Amazed thought even then he died indeed.
 O! let me not be check'd, and I shall swear,
 Even yet, it is a false report I hear,
 And think that he that did so truly feign,
 Is still but dead in jest, to live again.
 But now his part he acts, not plays, 'tis known :
 Others' he plays, but acted hath his own.

England's great Roscius! for what Roscius
 Was unto Rome that Burbadge was to us!

[How did his speech become him, and his pace
 Suit with his speech, and every action grace
 Them both alike, whilst not a word did fall
 Without just weight to ballast it withal.

Had'st thou but spoke to Death, and us'd the power
 Of thy enchanting tongue, at that first hour
 Of his assault, he had let fall his dart,
 And quite been charm'd with thy all-charming art :
 This Death well knew, and, to prevent this wrong,
 He first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue ;
 Then on the rest : 'twas easy ; by degrees
 The slender ivy twines the hugest trees.

Poets, whose glory whilome 'twas to hear
 Your lines go well express'd, henceforth forbear,
 And write no more ; or if you do, let 't be
 In comic scenes, since tragic parts, you see,
 Die all with him : nay, rather shut your eyes,
 And henceforth write nought else but tragedies,
 Or dirges and sad elegies, or those
 Mournful laments that not accord with prose.
 Blur all your leaves with blots, that all you've writ
 May be but one sad black ; and upon it

Draw marble lines that may outlast the sun,
 And stand like trophies when the world is done.
 Turn all your ink to blood, your pens to spears,
 To pierce and wound the hearers' hearts and ears:
 Enrag'd, write stabbing lines, that every word
 May be as apt for murder as a sword,
 That no man may survive, after this fact
 Of ruthless Death, either to hear or act.

And you, his sad companions, to whom Lent
 Becomes more lenten by this accident,
 Henceforth your waving flag no more hang out.
 Play now no more at all : when round about
 We look, and miss the Atlas of your sphere,
 What comfort have we, think you, to be there ?
 And how can you delight in playing, when
 Such mourning so affecteth other men ?
 Or if you will still put it out, let it wear
 No more bright colours, but Death's livery there.
 Hang all your house with black, the ewe it bears
 With icicles of ever-melting tears ;
 And if you ever chance to play again,
 May nought but tragedies afflict the scene !

And now, dear Earth, that must enshrine that dust,
 By heaven now committed to thy trust,
 Keep it as precious as the richest mine
 That lies entomb'd in that rich womb of thine,
 That after times may know that much lov'd mould
 From other dust, and cherish it as gold :
 On it be laid some soft but lasting stone,
 With this short epitaph endors'd thereon,
 That every eye may read, and reading, weep—
 'TIS ENGLAND'S ROSCIUS, BURBADGE, THAT I KEEP.

The allusion to Atlas in the preceding elegy was probably occasioned by the fact, stated by Steevens, that the sign of the Globe theatre was Atlas, not Hercules, supporting a sphere ; and we learn from it also another particular connected with the

old playhouse, viz., that there was a ewe-tree near it, perhaps against it, which the writer wished to be hung "with icicles of ever-melting tears;" unless we suppose "ewe" to be a clerical error for *hue*, and that he meant the black hue of the theatre to be rendered still more dismal by the frozen tears of the company: the passage is not very intelligible either way, and it is certainly not of much consequence how it is to be taken. The author of the subsequent MS. lines, of a very opposite character, though written on the same occasion, has taken care to be easily understood: his object was to censure and satirize the inhabitants of London for their unreasonable grief on the loss of an actor; but what he says serves to show the general impression of sorrow which the death of Burbadge had produced. He contrasts the public grief for the death of a player with the comparative indifference with which the news of the demise of the Queen of James I. had been received; and it will be observed that the two lines at the commencement are copied from the opening of the first part of "Henry VI."

De Burbagio et Regina.

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!

Comets importing change shoot through the sky:

Scourge the foul fates that thus afflict our sight!

Burbadge, the player, has vouchsafed to die!

Therefore, in London is not one eye dry:

The deaths of men who act our Queens and Kings,

Are now more mourn'd than are the real things.

The Queen is dead! to him now what are Queens?

Queens of the theatre are much more worth,

Drawn to the playhouse by the bawdy scenes,

To revel in the foulness they call mirth.

Dick Burbadge was their mortal god on earth:

When he expires, lo! all lament the man;

But where's the grief should follow good Queen Ann?

JOHN HEMINGE.

To what class of actors Heminge¹ belonged we are without information, beyond the statement of Malone, that "in some tract," of which he had forgotten to preserve the title, he was said to have been the original performer of Falstaff.² Malone does not tell us that he met with this assertion in a publication of, or near, the time of Shakespeare; and it may deserve as little credit as the assertion of Roberts, the actor, in his answer to Pope in 1729, that Heminge was a tragedian, and that, in conjunction with Condell, he also followed the business of printing.³ If this were true, it is singular that no production of their press has reached us: Roberts does not adduce a particle of evidence on the point, traditional or otherwise, and it is not impossible that he blunderingly set down Heminge and Condell as the printers, instead of the editors of the folio of Shakespeare's "*Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*," in 1623: that work purports to have been printed, as most of our readers are aware, "by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount," although it is not at all unlikely that they received assistance, in so large an undertaking, from other persons engaged in the same branch of business. There is no doubt that several of our early actors followed also other occupations: such has

¹ The name of Heminge is spelt in old documents in a variety of ways—Hemmings, Hemminge, Hemings, Hemyng, Hemming, Heming, and as we have given it. It is Heminge in his will, and at the end of the address to the folio Shakespeare of 1623, although printed Hemmings in the prefixed list of the "principal actors" in the plays.

² *Shakspeare* by Boswell, iii., 187.

³ *Ibid.*, iii., 186.

been the case down to our own day ; and it seems much more likely that Heminge was by trade a grocer : so he terms himself in his will, having been free of that company.

We have no knowledge of his connexion with theatrical affairs anterior to 1596, when he was one of the eight actors who presented a petition to the Privy Council, praying that they might not be prevented from repairing and enlarging the Blackfriars theatre.¹ The name of Heminge comes third, following those of Pope and Burbadge, and preceding those of Phillips, Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley : this position would lead us to conclude that he was at that time both of rank and standing in the profession. As to his age, Ben Jonson called him "old Mr. Heminge" in his "Masque of Christmas," presented in 1616,² when Ben Jonson was himself forty-two, so that we can hardly reckon Heminge less, at that date, than sixty ; which would carry back his birth to 1556, and make him eight years older than Shakespeare. Our persuasion is, that Heminge was an actor before Shakespeare joined a theatrical company ; but, as we have already remarked, we find no trace of him at by any means so early a date in any existing theatrical record.

The name of Heminge was not at all uncommon in Warwickshire, and Malone found that two persons bearing it, John and Richard, were settled at Shottery, near Stratford-upon-Avon, early in the reign of Elizabeth : John Heminge had a daughter baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1567 ; and Richard Heminge had a son christened John in the same church, on 7th March, 1570. It is hardly possible, for a reason here-

¹ See p. 18 of the present volume.

² Richard Burbadge is also there mentioned only as "Master Burbage," and there is no doubt that he was considerably junior to Heminge : the passage runs thus—"Master Burbadge has been about and about with me, and so has old master Heminge too ; they have need of him." They are talking of the boy who was to play Cupid.—*Gifford's Ben Jonson*, vii., 277. See also p. 43 of the present volume.

after apparent, that this John Heminge should have been our actor, and we are inclined to carry back his birth to a period beyond the year 1558, the earliest date in the Stratford registers. The circumstance that Heminges were domiciled so near Stratford-upon-Avon would have had more weight with us, if the name had not been frequent in most parts of the kingdom, and the subject of the present memoir may, after all, have been born in London, and apprenticed to a grocer. We know not that any allusion was intended—probably not; but Ralph, the stage-struck hero of Beaumont and Fletcher's "Knight of the Burning Pestle," first printed in 1613, was a grocer's apprentice. Heminge may have evinced the like early propensity, may have taken to the stage, and may subsequently have carried on his business, and at the same time exercised himself in his quality. If he had not been engaged as a grocer late in life, there seems no sufficient reason for so terming himself in his will.

In 1599 Heminge was, unquestionably, a prominent actor among the Lord Chamberlain's theatrical servants,¹ as appears by the following quotation from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth: he and Pope were the persons then representing the company, and in their names the warrant was made out for the payment of money due to the whole body for performances before the Queen. We give it as the earliest entry of the kind, yet discovered, in which the name of Heminge occurs:—

"Paid to John Heming and Thomas Pope, servants unto the Lo. Chamberlein, uppon the Councill's warrant, dated at the Courte at Nonesuch, ij^o die Octobrs, 1599, for three interludes, or playes, played before her Ma^{tie} on St. Stephen's daye at night, New year's daye at night, and

¹ Chalmers ("Apology," p. 435) tells us, that "as early as November, 1597, Heminge appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company," and he refers to the Registers of the Privy Council as his authority, but those records by no means establish any such point.

Shrouctewsdai at night, last past, the some of xx^{li}; and to them more by waye of her Ma^{ty} rewarde, the some of x^{li}. In all xxx^{li}."

We are indebted to Mr. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts" for this information¹; and he adds in a note, that he thinks Heminge was never at the head of the company, but acted throughout as treasurer. Such may be the fact: Heminge may have filled the office of treasurer to the association; and, as far as we can judge, he seems to have been a most proper person for the duty, but we meet with no evidence on the subject, beyond the circumstance that he was often one of those appointed to receive the money due from the court. Various eminent performers were at times selected for the same purpose, and others were associated with them, as in the instance above quoted. Heminge alone appears to have been named in a similar warrant of 17th February, 1599-1600, for three other "interludes or playes:" on 31st March, 1601, John Heminge and Richard Cowley were the recipients of the royal bounty on behalf of their fellows; on 20th April, 1603, rather less than a month before the date of the patent of James I., the entry of payment is, "To John Hemynges, and the rest of his companie, servaunts to the Lorde Chamberleyne." He is mentioned alone, and called "one of his Majesty's players"² (which the company became on the accession of James I.), on December 3, 1603, when he was paid £30 for the performance of a play before the King at Wilton, the company having been commanded from Mortlake for the gratification of his Majesty. As Mr. Cunningham remarks, this is a very interesting memorandum, for it shows that the first play exhibited in England before James I. was

¹ "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court," Introduction, p. xxxii.

² In the patent granted by James I. to his players on 17th May, 1603, the name of Heminge stands fifth, after those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, and Phillips, and before those of Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley.

by Shakespeare's company, and in the house of the Earl of Pembroke.¹ It is deeply to be regretted, that at this date it was not usual to set out the titles of the plays in the warrants of payment for them : at an earlier period they were not unfrequently given, and hence our only existing knowledge of several dramatic productions : at a later date also such was sometimes the practice ; but at this juncture, when James I. had just ascended the throne of England, and Shakespeare occupied the throne of the drama, the names of plays seem to have been omitted. The earliest revival of the practice, as far as we now know, was on 21st June, 1614, when Joseph Taylor, as one of the players of the Princess Elizabeth, was paid £16 13s. 4d. for the performance of "Eastward Ho!" and "The Dutch Courtesan." Another instance of the same kind occurred on the 11th June, 1615, when Nathaniel Field (it is not stated in the document to what company he was attached) had a warrant for £10 for the representation of Ben Jonson's "Bartholemew Fair."² These were two exceptions to the general rule ; and a third, applicable to Heminge and to the company of the King's players, of much higher interest, belongs to the 20th April and the 15th May, 1618 : Heminge was then paid £20 for the representation before the King of "Twelfth Night" and "The Winter's Tale," and £10 for "The Merry Devil of Edmonton." The two first had been performed on Easter Monday and Tuesday preceding, and the last on the 3rd May. It will be understood that we speak here of warrants for the payment of the actors, and not of the accounts of the Master of the Revels, which sometimes furnish the titles of dramas, as well as minute and interesting matters connected with the expenditure for their performance at court.³

¹ "Revels' Accounts," Introduction, p. xxxiv.

² It is ascertained from the title-page of the comedy itself, that it was originally represented by the players of the Princess Elizabeth in 1614.

³ See Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," pp. 203 and 210, where we hear, for the first time, of the representation at court, in the

In March, 1615, John Heminge was summoned before the Privy Council in his capacity of a leader and representative of the company, and his name was coupled in the instrument with that of Richard Burbadge: they and other actors had disobeyed the injunction of the Lord Chamberlain by playing during Lent, and on this account they had incurred displeasure; but it is likely that it was removed on submission to the Master of the Revels, for although there is a notice in the registers of the Privy Council that Heminge and Burbadge, with six other players of different companies, were ordered to attend, no entry is made of their appearance at the time appointed, and possibly it was dispensed with, and the offence passed over.¹

He buried his wife on the 2nd September, 1619, as appears by the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in which parish he seems always to have resided when in London, a circumstance for which we may easily account, if we suppose that he carried on the trade of a grocer there. Malone remarks, that it was "sufficiently commodious for his performances at the Globe theatre, to which, by crossing the Thames, he could

twelve months between October 1604 and October 1605, of the following plays: Othello—The Merry Wives of Windsor—Measure for Measure—The Comedy of Errors—How to learn of a Woman to woo—All Fools—Love's Labours Lost—Henry the Fifth—Every Man out of his Humour—Every Man in his Humour—The Merchant of Venice—The Spanish Maz [?]. Between October 1611 and October 1612, the following dramas were acted at court: The Tempest—The Winter's Tale—A King and no King—Green's Tu Quoque—The Almanack—The Twin's Tragedy—Cupid's Revenge—The Silver Age—The Nobleman—Hymen's Holiday—The Maid's Tragedy. Nothing can well be more valuable than this information, and Mr. Cunningham was the first to bring it to light. It is deeply to be lamented that similar documents, applicable to intervening years, do not seem to have been preserved in the depository from which these were rescued.

¹ See p. 43; and "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 394.

reach in a short time.”¹ This is perhaps true, but still it was unusual for actors to live so far off, unless they had other business which called them from the immediate neighbourhood of the playhouses with which they were connected ; and this consideration gives greater weight to the notion, which does not seem to have occurred to others, that Heminge was a grocer as well as an actor. He had been married at St. Mary’s, Aldermanbury, as long before as 10th March, 1587-8, so that unless he had been only about seventeen years old at the time, he was not the John Heminge who was baptized at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1570. The name of his wife was Rebecca Knell, and Chalmers conjectures that she was “the widow of William Knell,”² the very distinguished comic performer celebrated by Thomas Heywood.³ In the first place, we are not sure that Knell’s name was William, which is necessary to the supposition of Chalmers ; and in the next we are without proof that he was ever married.

During the two-and-thirty years they were living together in the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the wife of John Heminge produced him a numerous family : they had thirteen children ; and supposing such of them as died to have been buried where they were born, ten of them survived their parents. The eldest, a daughter, named Ales or Alice, was baptized on 1st November, 1590. Four other daughters followed, viz. :—Mary, baptized on the 26th May, and buried on the 9th August, 1592 ; Judith, baptized on the 29th August, 1593 ; Thomasine, baptized on the 15th January, 1594-5 ; and Jone, baptized on the 2nd May, 1596. These five daughters in succession, were followed by as many sons in succession, viz. :—John, baptized on the 2nd April, and buried on the 17th June, 1598 ; another John, baptized on the 12th August, 1599 ; Bevis (spelt Beavis in the register), baptized

¹ “Shakspeare” by Boswell, iii., 187.

² “Apology for the Believers,” p. 436.

³ “Apology for Actors,” p. 43, Shakesp. Soc. reprint.

on the 24th May, 1601; William, baptized on the 3rd October, 1602; and George, baptized on the 12th February, 1603-4. Three more daughters came after the five sons, viz.:—Rebecca, baptized on the 4th February, 1604-5; Elizabeth, baptized on the 6th March, 1607-8; and Mary, baptized on the 21st June, and buried on the 23rd July, 1611. In his will Heminge also mentions a daughter Margaret, but no such name occurs in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, and we may conjecture that she was born and christened in the country: neither does it appear that all the burials of his children are included in the same registers; and as William Heminge was left sole executor of his father's will, and other sons are not noticed, we may infer, perhaps, that John, Bevis, and George had died, and were interred out of their father's parish. Malone mentions a daughter Beatrice, but we have looked in vain for her name in the registers of St. Mary, and there is no notice of her elsewhere.¹

The eldest daughter, Ales or Alice, was married at her parish church on the 11th February, 1611-12, to John Atkins; and they were living with their father at the time he made his will, and they had a son named Richard. Three other daughters were also married: Rebecca to Captain William Smith, Margaret to Mr. Thomas Shepherd, and a daughter, not specified, to a person of the name of Merefield; but, as her husband is not spoken of, perhaps she was a widow at the death of her father: his daughter Elizabeth, who is also separately noticed in the will, was probably still single.

Heminge continued to occupy his house, and perhaps to carry on his business in Aldermanbury after the death of his wife, but it seems likely that besides his interest in the Globe theatre, he had other property, and perhaps relatives, in Southwark: he left a legacy to the Rev. John Rice, the

¹ Both Chalmers and Malone omit to mention the burial of "Swynerton Heminge, an infant," on 8th June, 1613: he was the last child.

clergyman of that parish, "for a remembrance of my love unto him;" and on 1st June, 1600, a William Heminge was married to Margaret Evans: on 6th July, 1609, Ellinor Heminge was married to Thomas Pester; and as late as 1625, William Tawyer, who is expressly called in the register "Mr. Heminge's man," was buried at St. Saviours. There were also several Heminges in Shoreditch, and one of them, Samuel, occupied a house in Holywell Street, which seems to have been inhabited very much by actors, and persons in various ways connected with our old theatres.

It can hardly be disputed that John Heminge was at the head of the King's Players in 1619; and when they obtained their new Patent in March of that year his name stands first, even before that of Burbadge (who was in fact dead) and it is followed by those of Condell, Lowen, Tooley, Underwood, Field, and five others.¹ He seems, together with Condell, to have relinquished the active duties of the profession about the time when they executed their great work of collecting and printing the dramatic productions of their illustrious contemporary. Their names, it is true, occur in a Patent conceded two years after the publication of the first folio, but they apparently quitted the stage as performers, (though not as managers) when we may suppose that they began to employ themselves in securing the manuscripts of Shakespeare's comedies, histories, and tragedies, in arranging them for publication, and in correcting the press.

Hence arises the question at what date they commenced this great and most valuable enterprise, which has perhaps saved from oblivion about half of what was ever written by our great dramatist: but for Heminge and Condell, dramas like "The Winter's Tale," "Macbeth," "Cymbeline," and all the others that were printed for the first time in the folio of 1623, might have entirely perished; and even now we are not sure

¹ This Patent is quoted at length in "The History of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 416.

that they included all the writings of a dramatic character that came from his pen. We are willing to hope that no play was accidentally omitted; but we cannot help fearing that many prologues and epilogues, and additions to his own, and even to the works of others, have been excluded. We know that it was the custom with Ben Jonson, Dekker, Webster, Marston, Heywood, and other contemporaries of Shakespeare, to employ their talents in this way, when required by the occasion, at other theatres; and as Shakespeare was for so many years the chief writer for the Lord Chamberlain's players, (after the accession of James I. called the King's servants) we are apprehensive that he contributed much, of an accidental and temporary kind, which has not come down to us, and will never be recovered. This is a loss we shall therefore always have to deplore; but our obligations to the piety of Heminge and Condell towards their "friend and fellow," in what they did in the collection and publication of the "Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies" of Shakespeare, cannot be too often nor too deeply acknowledged.

It is one of the problems in the life of our great dramatist that will never be solved, how it happened that he, who could write such plays, could be so indifferent as to their appearance in print. Many of those that were published in his lifetime were, as Heminge and Condell tell "the great variety of readers" in their preliminary address, "maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious imposters;" and Shakespeare seems to have done nothing to right himself in the eyes of the world in this respect. He probably superintended the passage through the press of his two poems, "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece," but it is our conviction that, as far as regards any of his plays, he never corrected a line of them after they were in type. Even with respect to the two dramas, that with most show of probability may be said to have been published entire, in order to check the sale of imperfect, mutilated, and surreptitious copies—"Romeo and Juliet" and

“Hamlet”—we feel persuaded that their author was in no way instrumental in the issue of the more authentic copies: it seems, as far as we can judge, to have been the act of the company, with the view of correcting an injurious notion as to the real value and character of the pieces then in a course of daily representation at the Globe or Blackfriars theatres.

This is not the place to enter as fully as we could wish into this discussion, and our main reason for adverting to it is to establish how much we owe to Heminge and Condell, who were so much more careful of the fame of our great dramatist than he himself appears to have been. After his plays had answered their purpose on the stage, he seems to have been utterly reckless as to their fate. It would have surprised nobody if, after his retirement to Stratford-upon-Avon about 1612, he had employed himself in doing what was afterwards done for him by two of his brother performers; but all that has reached us tends to show that he preserved to the last the indifference which had marked him from the first.

What assistance Heminge and Condell obtained in the course of their undertaking must be matter of mere speculation: that they received some aid is more than probable; and, whether it was or was not given by Ben Jonson, as has been supposed, it is quite clear to our judgment that the introductory epistle, containing the subsequent brief and admirable notice of Shakespeare and his writings, could not have been penned by them—“Who, as he was a happy imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it: his mind and hand went together; and what he thought he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.” This passage could hardly have been written by Ben Jonson, consistently with the anecdote told of him in connexion with the absence of erasures in Shakespeare’s original manuscripts.

The above quotation is more important than it may appear at first sight, and than it seems to have struck others that it is, inasmuch as we may infer from it that Heminge and Condell

sometimes employed for their work not merely the copies made for the use of the actors by the mechanical writers for the theatre, but those manuscripts which had come in so fair a state from the hand of Shakespeare himself. To what extent they were able to do so, after the fire at the Globe, we cannot determine, but this consideration gives to the volume they published an additional claim to our reverence and admiration on the ground of its authenticity.

At the date when it appeared, consisting as it does of nearly 1000 pages, the process of printing (even supposing the MS., as there is some reason to believe, to have been placed in the hands of more than one printer) must have occupied a considerable period—scarcely less than a year. There is little doubt that the title-page and all the preliminary matter were printed last; and there, as well as at the close of the volume, we find the date of 1623: nevertheless there is a copy of the first folio in existence with the date of 1622, so that, although the publication was afterwards postponed, and the date changed to 1623, we may be pretty sure that the book was ready by the end of 1622.¹ We suppose the process of printing to have been commenced at the close of 1621, and we cannot allow less than a previous year to the editors for the collection of their materials; it may, indeed, have occupied a much longer time, and they may not only have contemplated, but begun their undertaking soon after the death of Shakespeare. The book does credit to

¹ The entry in the registers of the Stationers' Company is dated 8th November, 1623, but it must have been made just before the volume was issued to the public, and some time after the printing of it had been finished, unless we suppose the date of the one copy in 1622 to have been a mere error of the press: such may certainly have been the case. The author of the present volume has never had an opportunity of seeing the copy of the folio with the date of 1622, but is informed by a gentleman who has seen it, that the date is on the title-page and at the end of the work; so that, if 1622 be an error, it was committed by the printer twice over.

the age, even as a specimen of typography: it is on the whole remarkably accurate, and so desirous were the editors and printers of correctness, that they introduced changes for the better, even while the sheets were in progress through the press.

The connexion of Heminge and Condell with this great work was certainly the most important incident of their lives, and posterity can never be too grateful to them for having undertaken it.

Although we suppose them to have retired from the active duties of the profession about 1622, it is certain that to the last day of their lives they were interested in the receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres: we take it, that they continued to superintend the getting up and performance of plays for some years after they ceased to appear publicly in them. On this account we still read their names in the patent granted by Charles I. to his "well beloved servants" when he came to the throne: John Heminge and Henry Condell stand first in the enumeration of thirteen, followed by Lowen, Taylor, and other players more or less distinguished. We know that in 1625, if not before, Condell had withdrawn to his "country house" at Fulham,¹ and he at least could not then have devoted much personal attention to the affairs of the stage; but at the same time it is to be recollected that the plague was then committing great ravages in the metropolis, and that the theatres were temporarily closed. Charles I. conceded his royal license while the disease prevailed to an alarming extent, but with the clause, inserted by his father in 1619, that the company was only to act "when the infection of the plague in London did not weekly exceed forty."

Whether Heminge remained in Aldermanbury while the virulence of the disorder was unabated we have not the same means of knowing as exist in the case of Condell, who died about three years before his co-editor of the collection of

¹ See the Memoirs of H. Condell in a subsequent part of this volume.

Shakespeare's dramatic productions. Heminge was appointed by Condell, in December, 1627, one of the overseers of his will, with a legacy of £5.

We hear of Heminge again in connexion with the King's players on the 6th May, 1629, when he received the usual biennial donation of four yards of "bastard scarlet" for a cloak, and a quarter of a yard of crimson velvet for a cape: in the order for making this allowance of "royal livery" to the actors, as servants of the crown, the name of John Heminge stands first, followed by those of Lowen, Taylor, and eleven others. In 1625, the company consisted of thirteen performers, including Heminge, but in 1629 there were thirteen without him. He may have been still reckoned an actor in 1625, and he may have ceased to be so considered in 1629.

Nevertheless, he continued as its leader to represent the company at court to within less than a month of his death. The plague made its fatal appearance again early in the year 1630, and kept the theatres closed for six months prior to the 20th September, when an order was issued under privy seal for bestowing upon the King's players £100 "in regard of their great hindrance of late received," and it was directed that the money should be conveyed through the hands of Heminge. As it is the last document from the court in which his name is found, we here quote it from the original:—

Right trusty and well beloved, &c. Charles, by the grace of God, &c. To the Treasurer and Under-treasurer of our Exchequer, for the time being, greeting. Whereas, we have given order that our servant, John Heminge, and the rest of our players, shall attend upon us and our dearest consort, the Queen, at our next coming to Hampton Court. And forasmuch as we are graciously pleased, in regard of their great hindrance of late received, whereby they are disabled to attend this service, to bestow upon them the sum of one hundred pounds, we do hereby will and command you, out of our treasure remaining in the receipt of our said Exchequer, forthwith to pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Heminge, for himself and the rest of our said servants, the

said sum of one hundred pounds, as of our free gift and bounty, without any account, imprest, or other charge to be set upon him or them, or any of them, for the same or any part thereof. And these, &c. Given under our signet at our Palace of Westminster, the 20th day of September, in the sixth year of our reign.

R. KIRKHAM.

No doubt Heminge received and distributed this royal bounty, but he died about twenty days after the date of it: he made his will on the 9th; it was proved on the 11th, and he was buried on the 12th October, 1630, in the churchyard of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, the register recording his name as "John Heminge, player."

The whole proceeding was extremely hasty, and as the will was never finally executed by the testator, there is abundant reason for concluding, with Malone, that he died of the plague,¹ which then raged, and, as we have just seen, had prevented the company from performing at Hampton Court. When Malone asserts, however, that Heminge "died on the 10th of October," he had no authority for the statement beyond the fact that the will was proved on the 11th October by William Heminge, *filius dicti defuncti*; and it seems unlikely that the son should have gone to Doctors' Commons for the purpose on the very day after the decease of his father. To us it appears more probable that the death took place very suddenly on the day the will bears date, and that this was the reason why the signature of the testator was not affixed to it. Chalmers arrived at the conclusion that Heminge died "at the age of seventy-five," and Malone says that he was "in, as I conjecture, the seventy-fourth or seventy-fifth year of his age;" but the truth is that, until we are able to settle when he was born, we must remain in ignorance of the exact period of life he had reached in 1630. If his birth be placed, as we have supposed, in 1556, he was in his seventy-fourth year.

Boswell found among Malone's papers the copy of a con-

¹ Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 190.

firmation of arms to "John, son and heir of George Hemings of Droitwich, in the county of Worcester, Gent,"¹ granted by Sir William Segar in 1628: therein it is said that John Hemings, of London, Gent., had "of long time been servant to Queen Elizabeth;" but if this be our John Heminge, he was never, as far as existing evidence goes, called servant to the Queen, but to the Lord Chamberlain, in the reign of Elizabeth. This, however, may have been an error on the part of the herald, or Heminge may at one time have been a member of one of the Queen's two companies; but, as there are no other means of identification, we must remain in doubt whether the instrument apply to John Heminge, the actor, or to some other person of the same name.² It does not appear when the original grant of arms had been made.³

In his will Heminge left his son William sole executor, (without naming his other sons, who were perhaps dead) and "Mr. Burbadge and Mr. Rice to be the overseers" of it. William Heminge, we have seen, was born in 1602: according to Anthony Wood,⁴ he was educated at Westminster school, and from thence elected to Christchurch, Oxford, in 1621; but he did not matriculate until 1624, and took his degree of M.A. in 1628. He made three attempts in dramatic poetry, but probably not until after the death of his father: the earliest in point of date, "The Coursing of a Hare, or the Mad Cap,"

¹ Malone's Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 188.

² According to the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, "Walter Hemings, a Worcestershire man," was buried on 16th March, 1625. It is not said that he came from Droitwich.

³ It is stated by Segar that George Hemings, of Droitwich, bore "for his ancient coat armour, or on a cheveron sable, three playons of the first between three lions' heads arrashed of the second langued gueles: and for his crest or cognizance, on a helm the chapeau of azure double indented ermine, a lionjacent of the same langued and enarmed, mantled and doubled."

⁴ Athen. Oxon., edit. Bliss iii., 277.

was licensed for the Fortune theatre in March 1632-3, but never printed, and is said to have been one of the plays formerly in the possession of Warburton, and destroyed by his servant. Two other dramas by him, "The Fatal Contract" and "The Jew's Tragedy," were published: the first went through two editions in 1653 and 1661, and the last was printed in 1562. "The Oxford Antiquary" also informs us that William Heminge "left behind him greater monuments of his worth and ability" than these dramas. The books and papers mentioned in his father's will must have devolved into his hands as executor, and they would be invaluable not merely as relates to the history of the stage during the long period Heminge was connected with it, but especially as regards Shakespeare and his dramatic productions. The old manager, or treasurer (as Mr. P. Cunningham supposes him to have been) kept books, as he states in his will, which showed the "good yearly profit" he derived from his shares in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, and if these could be recovered they would certainly supply us with much the same information regarding Shakespeare's transactions with the King's players, as Henslowe furnished in his "Diary" respecting the numerous dramatists who wrote for the companies in whose receipts he was interested. There seems no reason why William Heminge should destroy them, and they may still lurk in some dark and dusty depository. Let us hope that the Shakespeare Society may yet be the means of recovering them.

The following is a copy of John Heminge's will —

In the name of God, amen, the 9th day of October, 1630, and in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I, John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London, being of perfect mind and memory, thanks be therefore given unto Almighty God, yet well knowing and considering the frailty and uncertainty of man's life, do therefore make, ordain, and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following :

First, and principally, I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker and Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits, death and passion, of Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer, to obtain remission and pardon of all my sins, and to enjoy eternal happiness in the kingdom of heaven; and my body I commit to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner in the parish church of Mary Aldermanbury, in London, as near unto my loving wife, Rebecca Heminge, who lieth interred, and under the same stone which lieth in part over her, there, if the same conveniently may be wherein I do desire my executor hereinafter named carefully to see my will performed, and that my funeral may be in decent and comely manner performed in the evening, without any vain pomp, or cost therein to be bestowed.

Item, my will is that all such debts as I shall happen to owe at the time of my decease to any person or persons, (being truly and properly mine own debts) shall be well and truly satisfied and paid as soon after my decease as the same conveniently may be; and to that intent and purpose my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that all my leases, goods, chattels, plate, and household stuff whatsoever, which I leave or shall be possessed of at the time of my decease, shall immediately after my decease be sold to the most and best benefit and advantage that the same or any of them may or can, and that the moneys thereby raised shall go and be employed towards the payment and discharge of my said debts, as soon as the same as may be converted into moneys and be received, without fraud or covin; and that if the same leases, goods, and chattels, shall not raise so much money as shall be sufficient to pay my debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts, which I have by lease in the several playhouses of the Globe and Blackfriars,¹ for and during such time and term as I have therein, be from time to time received and taken up by my executor, hereinafter named, and by him from time to time faithfully employed towards the payment of such of my said own proper debts which shall remain unsatisfied, and

¹ See p. cxx of Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, where it appears that Heminge was the owner of two shares of the profits of the Blackfriars theatre about the year 1608: we may presume perhaps that he continued equally interested to the end of his life.

that proportionably to every person and persons to whom I shall then remain indebted, until by the said moiety, or one half of the said yearly benefit and profit of the said parts, they shall be satisfied and paid without fraud or covin. And if the said moiety, or one half of the yearly benefit of my said parts in the said playhouses, shall not in some convenient time raise sufficient moneys to pay my said own debts, then my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint, that the other moiety or half part of the benefit and profit of my said parts in the said playhouses be also received and taken up by my said executor herein after named, and faithfully from time to time employed and paid towards the speedier satisfaction and payment of my said debts. And then, after my said debts shall be so satisfied and paid, then I limit and appoint the said benefit and profit arising by my said parts in the said playhouses, and the employment of the same, to be received and employed towards the payment of the legacies by me hereinafter given and bequeathed, and to the raising of portions for such of my said children as at the time of my decease shall have received from me no advancement. And I do hereby desire my executor herein after named to see this my will and meaning herein to be well and truly performed, according to the trust and confidence by me in him reposed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath, unto my daughter, Rebecca Smith, now wife of Captain William Smith, my best suit of linen, wrought with cutwork, which was her mother's; and to my son Smith, her husband, his wife's picture, set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter, Margaret Sheppard, wife of Mr. Thomas Sheppard, my red cushions embroidered with bugle, which were her mother's; and to my said son Sheppard, his wife's picture, which is also set up in a frame in my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth, my green cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Merefield, my cloth-of-silver striped cushions, which were her mother's.

Item, I give and bequeath unto so many of my daughter Merefield's and my daughter Sheppard's children as shall be living at the time of my decease, fifty shillings a piece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my grandchild, Richard Atkins, the sum of five pounds of lawful money of England, to buy him books.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my son-in-law, John Atkins, and his now wife, if they shall be living with me at the time of my decease, forty shillings, to make them two rings, in remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto every of my fellows and sharers, his majesty's servants, which shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of ten shillings a piece, to make them rings for remembrance of me.

Item, I give and bequeath unto John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark, (if he shall be living at the time of my decease) the sum of twenty shillings of lawful English money, for a remembrance of my love to him.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where I long lived, and whither I have bequeathed my body for burial, the sum of forty shillings of lawful English money, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parish where most need shall be.

Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby limit and appoint that the several legacies and sums of money by me hereinbefore bequeathed to be paid in money, be raised and taken out of the yearly profit and benefit which shall arise or be made by my several parts and shares in the several playhouses called the Globe and Blackfriar's, after my said debts shall be paid, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be: and I do hereby will, require, and charge my executor, herein after named, especially to take care that my debts first, and then those legacies, be well and truly paid and discharged, as soon as the same may be so raised by the sale of my goods and by the yearly profits of my parts and shares; and that my estate may be so ordered to the best profit and advantage for the better payment of my debts and discharge of my legacies before mentioned, with as much speed as the same conveniently may be, according as I have hereinbefore in this will directed and appointed the same to be, without any lessening, diminishing, or undervaluing thereof, contrary to my true intent and meaning herein declared. And for the better performance thereof, my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said playhouses should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby, as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear. And my will and mind is, and I do hereby ordain, limit, and appoint, that after my debts, funerals, and legacies shall be paid and satisfied out of my

estate, that then the residue and remainder of my goods, chattels, and credits whatsoever shall be equally parted and divided to and amongst such of my children as at the time of my decease shall be unmarried or unadvanced, and shall not have received from me any portion in marriage or otherwise, further than only for their education and breeding, part and part like: and I do hereby ordain and make my son William Heminge, to be the executor of this my last will and testament, requiring him to see the same performed in and by all things, according to my true meaning herein declared. And I do desire and appoint my loving friends, Mr. Burbadge and Mr. Rice, to be the overseers of this my last will and testament, praying them to be aiding and assisting to my said executor with their best advice and council in the execution thereof: and I do hereby utterly revoke all former wills by me heretofore made, and do pronounce, publish, and declare this to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram venerabili viro, magistro Willielmo James, legum doctore, Surrogato, undecimo die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini, 1630, juramento Willielmi Heminge, filii naturalis et legitimi dicti defuncti, et executoris, cui, &c., de bene, &c., jurat.

Malone states, "From an entry in the council-books at Whitehall I find that John Heminge was one of the principal proprietors of the Globe playhouse before the death of Queen Elizabeth."¹ We regret that he did not give the particular reference, because we have more than once searched the volumes of the Privy Council Registers for the purpose, and have not been able to find any such information: nevertheless, the fact may be so, and Malone was not careless in his statements; but at his death Heminge was certainly only one of the leaseholders both of the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres. He tells us so in his will: "and I do hereby will and appoint, that the moiety, or one half, of the yearly benefit and profit of the several parts *which I have by lease* in the several playhouses

¹ Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 190.

of the Globe and Blackfriars, *for and during such time and term as I have therein, be,*" &c. It is clear, therefore, that in 1630 the freehold was in some other persons, and we know, by evidence adduced in our Memoir of Richard Burbadge, that his son William and his brother Cuthbert were owners of the freehold of the Blackfriars. The fact would seem to be, that all the sharers in the Blackfriars were leaseholders for a certain term of years, as in the case of the Fortune, when it was built and rebuilt by Edward Alleyn; and such may have been, and probably was, the condition of John Heminge in respect to the Globe: he was a leaseholder, the freehold being in some other persons, whose names have not been ascertained—possibly the Burbadges. It afterwards became the property of Sir Matthew Brand, but from whom he purchased it is not known.

The "Mr. Burbadge," appointed one of the overseers of Heminge's will, must have been, as Malone states, Cuthbert, the brother of Richard; for William Burbadge, the son of Richard, was only fourteen years old in 1630. "Mr. Rice,"¹ the other overseer, was most likely the Rev. John Rice, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, previously mentioned in the will: nevertheless, an actor in the company to which Heminge belonged was named John Rice, and he is one of those enumerated in the folio of 1623, as a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's plays: his name stands last in the list, and very little is known of him, but we shall have occasion to speak of him in due course.

¹ On p. 221 of *Shakspeare* by Boswell, Malone erroneously calls this clergyman "Stephen Rice, clerk." In the preceding memoir we have corrected various errors committed by Malone and Chalmers, arising out of carelessness in consulting the Registers of St Mary, Aldermanbury: both of them omitted the notice of Heminge's last child, a son named after Sir John Swinnerton, who lived and died in the parish.

AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS.

There is little doubt that Augustine Phillips was chiefly a comic performer in the later part of his career, whatever he may have been at its commencement.¹ We first hear of him, as of several others, prior to the year 1588, when he was the representative of Sardanapalus in Tarlton's plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins." We have no clue to his age at that date, but he was most likely by no means an elderly man, although he survived only sixteen or seventeen years afterwards: at his death his mother (as appears by his will) was living, and her name was then Agnes Bennett, which proves that she must have been married a second time; unless by the words "my loving mother" we are to understand his wife's mother. He calls William and James Webb his "brothers," although they were most likely only brothers-in-law, from having married two of his sisters, or from his having married their sister: the former is the more probable, because there is some reason to believe that Augustine Phillips married a sister of Edward Alleyn, of whom, however, we hear on no other authority. Philip Henslowe, writing to Alleyn on the 28th September, 1593, speaks of Alleyn's "sister Phillips and her husband," as of a person engaged in the same line of life—"Your sister Phillipes and

¹ He may possibly have been descended from the "Robert Phillippe, momer," who was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 9th April, 1559. "Momer" meant *mummer*, a not very unusual designation for a player at that date. This is the first time the name of Robert Phillippe, or Phillippes, has been mentioned in connexion with our early stage.

her husband hath leced (i. e. *lost*, by the plague then prevailing) two or three out of ther howsse, yt there (i. e., *yet they are*) in good health, and doth hartily comend them unto you.”¹ It is not impossible that Henslowe alluded to the father of Augustine Phillipps, as one of the persons in his family who had died of the plague, for in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, we read the subsequent entry of a burial:—

“1592, July 24. Augustine Phillipps.”

The plague was raging in the summer of 1592, although Henslowe's letter to Alleyn bears date some time afterwards, and he might refer to other and subsequent domestic losses Augustine Phillipps and his wife had sustained. The register does not state whether the Augustine Phillipps, who was buried in July, 1592, were a man or a child, and it may have been the latter, and one of the early offspring of our actor and his wife. Her name was Anne, but when or where they were united is uncertain, as no marriage of persons with those names is to be found in the parish registers we have had an opportunity of consulting. Those of St. Saviour's, Southwark, show that they had a daughter, Magdalen, baptized in the autumn of 1594, and the clerk, or the clergyman, added to the entry, in Latin, the profession of the father:—

“1594, September 29. Magdalen Phillipps, daughter of Awsten, *histrionis*.”

When, less than two years afterwards, they had another daughter baptized at the same church, *histrionis* was translated in words it had been more the custom to use forty or fifty years earlier:—

“1596, July 11. Rebecca Phillipps, daughter of Augustine, player of interludes.”

¹ “Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,” p. 32: in a previous, but undated letter, Alleyn had desired to be remembered to his “sister Phillyps.” *Ibid.*, p. 26.

A few years afterwards the addition to the name was that more commonly employed ;

1601. November 29. Awstyn Phillipps, son of Awsten, a player.

This baptismal entry seems to render it more probable that the Augustine Phillipps buried in 1592 was the father of the actor, who lost the son, born in 1601 and named after him, in 1604, as we learn from the same registers at St. Saviour's, where the inemorandum stands thus :—

Buried 1604. July 1. Augustine Phillipps, a childe.

Besides Magdalen and Rebecca, Phillips and his wife had two other daughters, named (as appears by the will of the father) Anne and Elizabeth, but they were not christened at St. Saviour's, and elsewhere we meet with no mention of them. If they had any other son but Augustine, born in 1601 and buried in 1604, he probably did not live long, as none is spoken of in Phillips's will. Neither Malone nor Chalmers take the slightest notice of the particulars we have above extracted from the registers of St. Saviour's. There also we find recorded the marriage of Phillips's sister, Elizabeth, to Robert Gough, the player, in the spring of 1603, although the clerk was strangely ignorant of the surname of the bride, and therefore left it blank. It is, however, ascertained from other circumstances, as will be seen hereafter in the will, as well as in our memoir of Robert Gough.

Phillips seems, like some others of the same profession in his own day, to have been not merely an actor but a musician, supposing him to have performed upon the instruments mentioned in his will. He bequeathed to Samuel Gilburne, who had been his apprentice, his base viol, and to James Sands, who was not out of his time at the date of the will, his "citterne, bandore, and lute." It is not impossible that Phillips sometimes played in what we now call the orchestra of the

association to which he belonged, and that he assisted in accompanying songs introduced into different dramas.

If we suppose him to be the author of a piece imputed to him, he had still greater versatility of talent, but we are inclined to think that it was written by somebody else, and called after his name on account of his popularity. We allude to the "Jig of the Slippers," which was entered at Stationers' Hall, in 1595, as "Phillips's Jig of the Slippers," and most likely printed under that title, though it has not come down to us either in that form or in manuscript. A jig seems to have been "a ludicrous composition in rhyme, sung or said by a clown or comic performer, and accompanied by dancing and playing upon a pipe and tabor,"¹ or sometimes other musical instruments.

In the petition of the players of the Blackfriars to the Privy Council in 1596, in favour of continuing performances at that private theatre, the name of Augustine Phillips comes fourth, after those of Pope, Burbadge, and Heminge, and before those of Shakespeare, Kemp, Sly, and Tooley. In the patent granted by King James in May, 1603, Phillips's name is also fourth, after those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Burbadge, and before those of Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley. The only contemporary we recollect to have spoken of Phillips is Thomas Heywood, who, writing in 1612, thus placed him in company with other comic performers whom he had known and seen: "Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do them is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many."² We know that he sustained parts in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour,"

¹ History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, iii., 380.

² Heywood's "Apology for Actors," 1612, 4to., Sig. E 2 b: p. 43 of the Shakespeare Society's reprint in 1841.

and "Sejanus," acting in the first and last with Shakespeare, but what characters were assigned to him or others we have no means of ascertaining.

He seems to have lived during his stage-career in Southwark, and the token-books at St. Saviour's often contain his name as a resident in various places. In 1593 and 1595 we find him in Horse-shoe Court, but in 1601 he had removed to what was then called "the Close," and in 1602 he was in Bradshaw's Rents. In 1604 he had returned to Horse-shoe Court, and in 1605 his name had been written in the book by mistake; but, as he had removed, that of Buret was substituted as the person actually in possession of the house.

The fact is, that between 1604 and 1605 he had removed his family to Mortlake in Surrey, and in his will, dated 4th May, 1605, he speaks of "my house and land in Mortlake, which I lately purchased." He lived to enjoy it a very short time; for as his will was proved by his widow and executrix on the 13th May, it is clear that he died between the 4th and 13th of that month: the probability is that he quitted Southwark on account of ill health, and on the 4th May he states that he was "sick and weak of body." We may conclude that he had lived on the best terms with his brethren of the stage, to several of whom, including Shakespeare, (whose name stands first) Henry Condell, Christopher Beeston, (whom Phillips calls his "servant") Lawrence Fletcher, Robert Armin, Richard Cowley, Alexander Cooke, and Nicholas Tooley, he left legacies: nor did he forget the "hired men," or hirelings of the company, who were not sharers, to whom he gave £5, to be equally divided among them. These, and other interesting particulars, will be found in the will which we have subjoined to the present memoir.¹

He directed that all he died possessed of, (with one exception) after the payment of his funeral expenses and debts,

¹ Chalmers first published it in his *Apology*, p. 431.

should be divided into three equal portions, one portion to go to his wife, (who was left executrix provided she did not marry again, in which case she was to forfeit all claim under the will) another to his three eldest daughters, Magdalen, Rebecca, and Anne, and the third to be devoted to the payment of bequests, legacies,¹ &c. He designates his personal property "goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, jewels, ready money, and debts," and does not state whether he was, or was not, owner of shares in any theatres; from which, as they were specified by several other actors in their wills, we may perhaps be authorized in inferring that he had disposed of his property of that kind before he quitted London. He left his "lately purchased" house and land at Mortlake as the portion of his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, in lieu of any share of his general estate.

By his will he required that his body should be buried in the chancel of Mortlake church, which, we may believe, was accordingly done between the 4th May, when the will was dated, and the 13th May, when it was proved by the widow and executrix. We have searched the registers of deaths in the parish, but in vain, as there is a hiatus in them between the years 1603 and 1613, during which period there exists no record of the interment of any persons. Neither is there any gravestone now in the church with Phillips's name upon it; but it is to be observed that the chancel has been recently altered, and only a small part of the original pavement appears to have been preserved.

The widow and executrix soon forfeited her right, under the will, by marrying again; and on 16th May, 1607, John

¹ Among the legacies was £10 to his nephews, Myles Borne and Phillips Borne, "two sons of my sister, Margery Borne." "William Bird, alias Borne," is often mentioned as an actor in Henslowe's *Diary*, and he may have been the husband of Margery Borne. According to the registers of Mortlake Church, Myles Borne had a child buried there, "not baptised," on 12th October, 1623.

Heminge proved it, in virtue of the clause, that he, Burbadge, Sly, and a person of the name of Timothy Whithorne (who had been appointed overseers) should become executors on the re-marriage of Anne Phillips.

The nature of the disorder of which Phillips died is nowhere stated; but there seems ground for supposing that his death was by no means sudden, although it must have occurred soon after the execution of his will: it was evidently prepared in some haste, as it was written on two separate sheets of paper, in different handwritings, only one of the sheets having been signed by the testator. It is as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen, the fourth daie of Maie, Anno Domini 1605, and in the yeres of the reigne of our sovringe Lorde James, by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faithe, &c., that is to say of England, Fraunce, and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotlande the eighte and thirtith. I, Augustine Phillipps, of Mortlack, in the County of Surrey, Gent., beinge at this presente sick and weak in body, but of good and perfecte mynde and remembrance, thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make, ordeyne, and dispose this my presente Testamente and last Will, in manner and forme followinge, that is to say: firste and principally I commende my soule into th' ands of Allmighty God, my Maker, Savior, and Redeemer, in whome and by the meritts of the second person, Jesus Christ, I truste and believe assuredly to be saved and to have cleire remission and forgiveness of my sinnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the parishe church of Mortelack aforesaid: and after my body buried, and funerall charge paid, then I will that all suche debts and dueties as I owe to any person or persons, of righte or in conscience, shal be truely paid; and that done, then I will that all and singular my goods, chattels' plate, household stuffe, jewells, reddy money, and debts, shal be devided by my executrix, and overseers of this my laste will and testament, into three equall and indefferente parts and portions, whereof one equal parte I geve and bequeathe to Anne Phillipps, my loveinge wife, to her owne proper use and behoufe: one other parte thereof to and amongeste my three eldeste daughters, Maudlyne Phillipps, Rebecca Phillipps, and Anne Phillipps, equally amongste them to be devided,

portion and portion like, and to be paide and deliverd unto them as they and every of them shall accomplish and come to their lawful ages of twenty and one yeres, or at their daies of marriage, and every of them to be others heyre of their said parts and portions, yf any of them shall fortune to dye before their said several ages of twenty and one yeres or daies of marriage; and th' other parte thereof I reserve to my selfe and to my executrix, to performe my legacies hereafter followinge:—

Item, I geve and bequeathe to the poore of the parishe of Mortlack aforesaide, fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be distributed by the churchwardens of the same parishe within twelve monethes after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to Agnes Bennett, my loveinge mother, during her naturall life, every yere yerely, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her at the four usuall feasts or termes in the yere by my executrix, out of any parte and portion reserved by this my presente will.

Item, I geve to my brothers, William Webb and James Webb, yf they shall be lyvinge at my decease, to eyther of them the some of tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them within three yeres after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to my sister, Elizabeth Goughe, the some of tenne pounds of lawfull money of England, to be paid her within one yere after my decease.

Item, I will and bequeathe unto Myles Borne and Phillipps Borne, two sonnes of my sister, Margery Borne, to eyther of them tenne pounds a peece of lawfull money of England, to be paid unto them when they shall accomplishe the full age of twenty and one yeres.

Item, I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne, the sum of twentyc pounds of lawfull money of Englande, to be paid unto him within one yere after my decease.

Item, I geve and bequeathe unto and amongste the hyred men of the company which I am of, which shalbe at the tyme of my decease, the some of fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be equally distributed amongste them.

Item, I geve and bequeathe to my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillings peece in gould; to my fellowe, Henry Condell, one other thirty shillinge peece in gould; to my servaunte, Christopher Beeston,

thirty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Lawrence Fletcher, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Robert Armyne, twenty shillings in gould: to my fellowe, Richard Coweley, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Alexander Cook, twenty shillings in gould; to my fellowe, Nicholas Tooley, twenty shillings in gould.

Item, I geve to the preacher, which shall preache at my funerall, the some of twenty shillings.

Item, I geve to Samuell Gilborne, my late apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and my mouse colloured velvit hose, and a white taffety dublet, a blacke taffety sute, my purple cloke, sword, and dagger, and my base viall.

Item, I geve to James Sands, my apprentice, the some of fortye shillings, and a citterne, a bandore, and a lute, to be paid and delivered unto him at the expiration of his terme of yeres in his indenture of apprenticeshood.

Item, my will is that Elizabeth Phillips, my youngest daughter, shall have, and quietlye enjoye, for terme of her natural lyfe, my house and land in Mortelacke which I lately purchased to me, Anne, my wife, and to the said Elizabeth, for terme of our lives, in full recompence and satisfaction of hir parte and portion which she may in any wise challenge or demand of in and to any of my goods and chattels whatsoever.

And I ordaine and make the said Anne Phillips, my loving wyfe, sole executrix of this my present testament and last will; provided alwaies that if the said Anne, my wyfe, do at any tyme marrye after my decease, that then and from thenceforth shee shall cease to be any more or longer executrix of this my last will, or any waies intermeddle with the same, and the said Anne to have no parte or portion of my goods or chattells to me or my executors reserved or appointed by this my last will and testament; and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings, Richard Burbadge, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, shal be fullie and whollie my executors of this my last will and testament, as though the said Anne had never bin named: and of the execution of this my present testament and laste will, I ordayne and make the said John Hemings, Richard Burbadge, William Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, overseers of this my present testament and last will: and I bequeathe unto the said John Hemings, Richard Burbadge, and William Slye, to either of them my said overseers, for their paines herein to be

taken, a boulc of silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In witness whereof to this my present testament and laste will, I, the said Augustine Phillipes, have put my hand and seale the day and yeare above written.

A. PHILLIPS (L. S.)

Scaled and delivered by the said Augustine Phillips, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us,

ROBERT GOFFE,

WILLIAM SHEPERD.

Robert Goffe was, of course, the actor whose name was usually spelt Gough, who had married the sister of the testator. William Shepherd may have been the scrivener, or scrivener's clerk, who drew the will: we know of no player of that name. Neither of Phillips's apprentices, Gilburne and Sands, seems to have attained eminence in the profession.

WILLIAM KEMP.

It is ascertained that William Kemp¹ was the original actor of the parts of Dogberry, in "Much Ado about Nothing," and of Peter, in "Romeo and Juliet." A knowledge of these facts is derived from the carelessness of the old copyists and printers; for in some of the early editions of the plays above mentioned, the name of the actor is found inserted instead of that of the character he sustained: thus in act iv., sc. 2, of "Much Ado about Nothing," we have Kemp and Cowley (another performer, whose name will often again occur) as the prefixes to the speeches of Dogberry and Verges, in the quarto and folio impressions;² and in act iv., sc. 5, of "Romeo and Juliet," we meet with "Enter Will. Kemp," instead of "Enter Peter," in the quartos of 1599 and 1609. This last mistake only was corrected in the folio of 1623. From a passage which we shall have occasion to cite presently from an anonymous comedy, called "The Return from Parnassus," it has been supposed by Malone that Kemp was also the representative of Justice Shallow in "Henry IV., Part 2;"³ but

¹ The name is spelt Kempt in the list of actors preceding the folio of 1623, but elsewhere we find it invariably either Kempe or Kemp.

² The Rev. Mr. Dyce, in his Introduction to Kemp's "Nine Days' Wonder" (reprinted for the Camden Society in 1840), does not seem to have been aware that Kemp's name, instead of that of Dogberry, is found not only in the 4to. of 1600, but in the folio of 1623: he says, "In the only 4to. of 'Much Ado about Nothing,' 1600, 'Kemp' is prefixed to some speeches of Dogberry." Precisely the same remark will apply to the same comedy in the folio of 1623.

³ Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 197. The inference is hardly warranted by the description there given, as will be seen hereafter.

that he was the first Grave-digger in "Hamlet," Launce in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," Touchstone in "As You Like It," and Launcelot in "The Merchant of Venice," is merely matter of conjecture:¹ we know that there were other low comedians, in the company which produced Shakespeare's dramas, very capable of such parts; and we know also that Kemp did not belong to the association when it is probable that one or more of those plays was first acted.

Kemp's name is, we believe, only found in one list of the performers prefixed or appended to any play of the time, viz.—Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour;" but, as in the case of Shakespeare and the other actors, no information is given regarding the particular character assigned to him in it: the author inserts "Will. Kemp" fifth in the list at the end, in the folio edition of his works of 1616, where he tells us also that the comedy was represented by the Lord Chamberlain's servants in 1598. It is unquestionably a mistake to suppose that he was Carlo Buffone in the same dramatist's "Every Man out of his Humour," acted in 1599, because Kemp's name does not occur in the enumeration of players printed on the last page of the comedy, where otherwise it would assuredly have been found.² That he was the most popular performer of low-comedy parts after the decease of Tarlton, and until his own death, will admit of no dispute; and although direct evidence is so scanty, we may be confident that few plays of a humorous kind were produced by companies to which he belonged, while he remained on the stage, in which

¹ Chalmers's "Apology," p. 457.

² It is rather singular the Rev. Mr. Dyce should not have observed that Kemp's name is not in the list of performers appended by Ben Jonson himself: if there be any authority for stating that "there is good reason to believe" that Kempe acted Carlo Buffone (Introd. to Repr. of "Nine Days' Wonder," p. vi.), the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not assign it, and the author of the comedy was certainly not acquainted with the fact.

his assistance was not required : authors, who had so favourite and so capital a performer at their disposal, would not often omit to avail themselves of his services. It is singular, therefore, that Ben Jonson did not require Kemp's aid in "Every Man out of his Humour," and perhaps he was not then one of the Lord Chamberlain's players.

The earliest notice we possess of Kemp affords the strongest testimony of his celebrity. Richard Tarlton, the most famous actor of clowns' parts that our theatre, ancient or modern, ever produced, was buried, as already mentioned (p. 14), on September 3rd, 1588; and Kemp seems instantly, not merely to have stepped into the vacancy, but to have filled it with such ability as to leave little to be regretted in the loss of his predecessor. Thomas Nash printed one of his attacks upon Martin Mar-prelate in the very year after Tarlton's death, and he humorously dedicates it "To that most comicall and conceited cavaliere, Monsieur du Kempe, Jest-monger, and Vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton." The tract is entitled "An Almond for a Parrat, or Cuthbert Curry-knaves Almes;" and as the dedicatory epistle is highly humorous and characteristic, and as it proves, moreover, the continental reputation which Kemp, even in 1589, had acquired, it is subjoined from the original edition. The date is not upon the title-page of the pamphlet, but extraneous circumstances prove that it could not have been printed later than 1589.

Brother Kempe, as many alhailes to thy person as there be haicocks in July at Pancredge. So it is, that what for old acquaintance, and some other respectes of my pleasure, I have thought good to offer here certaine spare stuffe to your protection, which, if your sublimitie accept in good part, or vouchsafe to shadow with the curtaine of your countenance, I am yours till fatall destiny, two yeares after doomes day. Many write bookes to knights and men of great place, and have thanks, with promise of a further reward for their paines : others come of with

a long epistle to some rufing courtier, that sweara, swoundes and bloud ! as soone as ever their backe is turnd, a man can not goe in the streetes for these impudent beggers. To avoide, therefore, as well the worthless attendance on the one, as the usual scorne of the other, I have made choise of thy amorous selfe to be the pleasant patron of my papers. If thou wilt not accept of it, in regard of the envy of some citizens that can not away with argument, Ile preferre it to the soule of Dick Tarlton, who I know will entertaine it with thankes, imitating herein that merry man Rablays, who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Navarre many yeares after her death, for that she was a maintainer of mirth in her life. Marry, God send us more of her making, and then some of us should not live so discontented as we do ; for now a dayes, a man can not have a bout with a balletter, or write *Midas habet uures asininas* in great Romaine letters, but hee shall bee in daunger of a further displeasure. Well, come on it what will, Martin and I will allow of no such doinges: wee can cracke halfe a score blades in a backe-lane though a constable come not to part us. Neither must you thinke his worship is so pure to be such a swasher, for as Scipio was called Africanus, not for relieving and restoring, but for subverting and destroying of Africa, so he and his companions are called Puritans, not for advancing or supporting of puritie by their unspotted integritie, but for their undermining and supplanting it by their manifold heresies. And in deed therein he doth but apply himselfe to that hope which his holinesse the Pope, and other confederate forriners, have conceived of his towardnesse. For comming from Venice the last summer, and taking Bergamo in my waye homeward to England, it was my happe, sojourning there some foure or five dayes, to light in felowship with that famous Francatrip' Harlicken, who, perceiving me to bee an English man by my habit and speech, asked me many particulars of the order and maner of our playes, which he termed by the name of representations: amongst other talke he enquired of me, if I knew any such Parabolano, here in London, as Signior Chiarlatano Kempino? Very well (quoth I), and have beene oft in his company. He, hearing me say so, began to embrace me a new, and offered me all the courtesie he colde for his sake, saying, although he knew him not, yet for the report he had hard of his pleasance, hee colde not but bee in love with his perfections, being absent. As we were thus discoursing, I hard such

ringing of belles, such singing, such shouting, as though Rhodes had been recovered, or the Turke quite driven out of Christendome: therewithal I might behold an hundreth bonefiers together, tables spred in the open streetes, and banquets brought in of all handes. Demaunding the reason of him that was next me, he told me the newes was there (thankes be to God) that there was a famous schismatike, one Martin, newe sprung up in England, who by his bookes, libels, and writings, had brought that to passe, which neither the Pope by his Seminaries, Philip by his power, nor all the holy league by their underhand practises and policies, could at any time effect: for whereas they lived at unitie before, and might by no meanes be drawne unto discord, hee hath invented such quiddities to set them together by the eares, that now the temporalitie is readie to plucke out the throtes of the cleargie, and subjects to withdraw their allegeance from their Soverayne: so that, in short time, it is hoped they will be up in armes one against another; whiles we, advantaged by this domesticall envy, may invade them unawares, when they shall not be able to resist. I, sory to heare of these triumphes, coulde not rest till I had related these tidinges to my countrymen. If thou hast them at the second hand (fellow Kempe) impute it to the intercepting of my papers, that have stayed for a good winde ever since the beginning of winter. Now they are arrived, make much of them, and with the credit of thy clownery protect thy Cutbert from carpers.

Thine in the way of brotherhood,

CUTBERT CURRY-KNAVE.

Another tract, with the date of 1589, may be quoted, as establishing the high character Kemp enjoyed with popular audiences. The manner in which the Puritans had just previously been ridiculed on the stage is testified by Nash in the tract already referred to, by Lily in his "Pap with a Hatchet," by the author of "A Countercuffe given to Martin, Junior," and by various other pamphleteers of the time, whom it is unnecessary here to cite; but the publication to which we have above alluded mentions Kemp by name, as one of the principal instruments of theatrical attack upon Martin Mar-prelate and his followers, and hence the peculiar appro-

priateness of the dedication to him of Nash's "Almond for a Parrot." It has for title, "Theses Martinianæ: that is, certaine Demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the Reverend Martin Marprelate, the great," &c., which purports to have been "printed by the assignees of Martin, Junior, without any priviledge of the Cater-caps." Among other curious passages it contains the following paragraph:—

The stage-players, poore, seelic, hunger-starved wretches, they have not so much as an honest calling to live in the common-wealth: and they, poore varlets, are so base minded, as at the pleasure of the veriest rogue in England, for one poore pennie, they will be glad on open stage to play the ignominious fooles for an houre or two together. And therefore, poore rogues, they are not so much to be blamed, if being stage-players, that is plaine rogues (save onely for their liveries) they, in the action of dealing against Maister Martin, have gotten them many thousand eye-witnesses of their wittelesse and pittifull conceites.

In the next paragraph the author enumerates some of the persons who had assailed the Puritans, and among them we find the names of Dick (meaning of course Dick Tarlton, then recently dead) and Kemp, both of whom, it is contended, had "bewrayed their owne shame and miserable ignorance."

We have other evidence to prove that Kemp was looked upon by audiences at the theatres as the worthy successor of Tarlton. Thomas Heywood was the contemporary of Kemp; if, indeed (as seems not impossible from his own words on the subject) he had not been acquainted with Tarlton:¹ Heywood was not only a most prolific dramatist, often much indebted to Kemp for the success of his plays, but an actor upon the

¹ Heywood mentions Knell, Bentley, Mills the elder, Wilson, Cross, and Lanam, as performers he had never seen, "being before my time." He does not include Tarlton, whom he could scarcely have omitted from the list, if he had not had an opportunity (perhaps when quite a boy) of seeing him.

same boards. In 1612 (some years after the death of Kemp) Heywood published his "Apology for Actors," and he there speaks of Tarlton and Kempe as follows:—"Here I must needs remember Tarlton, in his time gracious with the Queene, his sovereign, and in the people's generall applause; whom succeeded Will. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience."¹ It is quite clear, therefore, that Kemp was considered, not merely by the populace, but by such good judges as Nash as Heywood, a good substitute even for an admirable comedian like Tarlton.

The year of Kemp's birth is unknown, and we have no clue whatever to his age, excepting that Nash speaks of him, in 1589, as a complete and finished actor, whose reputation had extended far beyond the shores of England. We may very well suppose him, therefore, to have been as old, or nearly as old, as Shakespeare; and in a list of the company to which they both belonged in 1589, Kemp's name immediately follows that of our great dramatist. No hint is anywhere given as to the place of his birth; but, perhaps, we may infer that it was not London, from the fact that, among others, he was celebrated for characters in which it was necessary to employ a merely rustic dialect. Several of the names of actors in the association to which Shakespeare belonged were, as before mentioned, common in Warwickshire, but we do not find that such was the case with Kemp.

He must have quitted this company (the Lord Chamberlain's servants) before June, 1592, and joined a rival body of actors under Edward Alleyn (the founder of Dulwich College), for Kemp's name is made especially prominent on the title-page of a play brought out by Alleyn and his associates between the 9th and 12th June, 1592, and printed in 1594.²

¹ Shakespeare Society's reprint of "An Apology for Actors," p. 43.

² The Rev. Mr. Dyce says, that the play "was printed in 1594, 4to., having been entered in the Stationers' books to Rich. Jones, 7th Ja-

The fact of its earliest performance is thus attested by Philip Henslowe in his "Diary," p. 27 :—

Rd [i. e. received] at "A Knacke to Knowe a Knave," 1592, 1 day, iij^{li} xij^s.

The words "1 day" mean, that it was the *first day* it was acted, and we find the letters *ne* also in the margin, which Henslowe invariably inserted as an indication of the same fact. The full title of this drama in the printed copy is this :—
 "A most pleasant and merie new Comedic, intituled A Knacke to Knowe a Knave, newlie set foorth, as it hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen, and his Companie. With Kemp's applauded Merriments of the Men of Goteham, in receiving the King into Goteham. Imprinted at London by Richard Jones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne, nere Holborne bridge. 1594." We may be sure, therefore, that Kemp had rendered these "Merriments" (consisting only of part of one scene) highly laughable and popular; and for this reason, though forming so small a part of the whole performance, they were made obvious, in connexion with his name, when the production came from the press. Kemp's ground for relinquishing his situation among the Lord Chamberlain's players we are without any means of knowing: no explanation is contained in any author of the time that we have consulted; but we may presume, that, at a period when competition among various companies was so great, Kemp would be much in request, and highly advantageous terms would be held out to him, for the purpose of securing his services. We shall see hereafter, that he rejoined the association to which he had been attached in 1589, and that he subsequently again quitted it, in order to act under the management, of the preceding year." This, however, is an error: January, 1593, was in fact January, 1593-4, according to the usual division of the year at that period.

ment of Alleyn and Henslowe. He that could make so much out of so little, as the anonymous author of "A Knack to Know a Knave" seems to have furnished him with, must have been a valuable acquisition.

The reader cannot fail to be disappointed by "Kemp's applauded Merriments," as they stand in the printed drama; and in order that they might be relished by the audience, we must presume that Kemp, and perhaps the other performers on the stage with him, added on the sudden a great deal that has not come down to us. We shall see hereafter that Kemp, following the example of Tarlton, was in the habit of extemporising, and introducing matter of his own, which he apprehended would improve his part, and be acceptable to his hearers. The "Men of Goteham" consist of a Miller, a Cobler, and a Smith, and as the second has to deliver a speech to King Edgar on his entrance, we may conclude that that was the part entrusted to Kemp. We subjoin the whole scene, as it stands in the very rare old play, that some judgment may be formed of the peculiar talents of the performers, who could render it laughable, and redeem it from the gross dulness of the original.

Enter mad men of Goteham, to wit, a Miller, a Cobler, and a Smith.

Miller. Now, let us consult among ourselves how to misbehave ourselves to the king's worship, Jesus blesse him! and, when he comes, to deliver him this petition. I think the Smith were best to do it, for hee's a wise man.

Cobler. Naighbor, he shall not doe it, as long as Jefferay, the translator, is Maior of the towne.

Smith. And why, I pray? because I would have put you from the mace?

Miller. No, not for that; but because he is no good fellow, nor he will not spend his pot for companie.

Smith. Why, sir, there was a god of our occupation; and I charge you, by virtue of his godhed, to let me deliver the petition.

Cobler. But soft you: your god was a cuckold, and his godhead wore

the horne, and that's the armes of the godhead you call upon. Go; you are put down with your occupation: and now I wil not grace you so much as to deliver the petition for you.

Smith. What! dispraise our trade?

Cobler. Nay, neighbour, be not angrie, for Ile stand to nothing onlie but this.

Smith. But what? Bear witnes a' gives me the but, and I am not willing to shoot. Cobler, I will talke with you. Nay, my bellowes, my coletrough, and my water, shall enter armes with you for our trade. O, neighbour! I can not beare it, nor I wil not beare it.

Miller. Heare you, neighbour: I pray, conswade yourself and be not wilful, and let the Cobler deliver it. You shall see him mar all.

Smith. At your request: I will commit my selfe to you, and lay my selfe open to you lyke an oyster.

Miller. Ile tell him what you say. Heare you, naighbor; we have constulted to let you deliver the petition: doe it wisely, for the credite of the towne.

Cobler. Let me alone; for the king's carminger was here: he sayes the king will be here anon.

Smith. But heark! by the mas, he comes.

Enter the King, DUNSTON, and PERIN.

King. How now, Perin! who have we here?

Cobler. We, the townesmen of Goteham,
Hearing your grace would come this way,
Did thinke it good for you to stay.

(But hear you, neighbours, bid somebody ring the bells.)

And we are come to you alone,
To deliver our petition.

King. What is it, Perin? I pray thee reade.

Perin. Nothing, but to have a license to brew strong ale thrise a week; and he that comes to Goteham and will not spende a penie on a pot of ale, if he be a drie, that he may fast.

King. Well, sirs, we grant your petition.

Cobler. We humblie thanke your royall majesty.

King. Come, Dunston; let's away.

Exeunt omnes.

This constitutes the whole of the "applauded merriments,"

and this was probably all that the author of the "Knack to know a Knave" had put down for the performers, leaving it to Kemp, and the two other comic actors concerned with him, to make what additions occurred to them in order to excite laughter. When, some years afterwards, Kemp was called upon to perform the part of Dogberry, it is not impossible that he might attempt to take the same liberty with his text, and this very circumstance may have led Shakespeare in his "Hamlet," at a shortly subsequent date, so severely to censure the practice. How different is the poor blundering dialogue between the Miller, the Cobbler, and the Smith, from the rich humour put into the mouths of Dogberry, Verges, and the Watch, we need not pause to show. The practice of Kemp and his predecessor in extemporizing is adverted to by Richard Brome, (an excellent dramatist, who had lived in the service of Ben Jonson, and generally took that distinguished poet for his model) in his comedy called "Antipodes," which was not printed until 1640, but must have been written some years earlier. It is in a dialogue between Byplay, an actor, and an old lord, called Letoy, who is endeavouring to instruct him and to correct some of his bad propensities: among other faults, Letoy complains of Byplay that he takes upon himself to add to or diminish his part, and to hold interlocutions with the audience, instead of attending to the dialogue and business of the scene: Byplay answers—

That is a way, my lord, has been allowed
On elder stages, to move mirth and laughter.

Upon which Letoy adds

Yes, in the days of Tarlton¹ and Kempe,
Before the stage was purg'd from barbarism,

¹ In this line "Tarlton" is clearly to be spoken as three syllables, and it will be recollected that it is so written in the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where he was buried—*Torrelton*. Vide p. 15. The most

And brought to the perfection it now shines with.
Then fools and jesters spent their wits, because
The poets were wise enough to save
Their own for profitabler uses.

Such might have been the usual "way" in the days of Tarlton, and in the earlier part of the career of Kemp, possibly before Shakespeare had become an established writer for the stage, and the practice may have prevailed to a certain, and an objectionable extent afterwards.

At the time when Kemp played in "A Knack to know a Knave," he was, as we have stated, a member of Alleyn's company, acting at the Rose on the Bankside, and perhaps at the Theatre in Shoreditch. The Globe was not then constructed, so that the Lord Chamberlain's players performed at the Blackfriars theatre in the winter, and probably at the Curtain in the summer, shares in which a few of the actors retained till their death, sometime after the Globe had been opened. We have no means of knowing precisely how long after 1592 Kemp continued with Alleyn and his associates, but he had rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players in or before 1596, when his name (again following that of Shakespeare) is found in a petition to the Privy Council in favour of the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars playhouse.¹

In the meanwhile, Kemp seems to have availed himself of his popularity by the publication of several pieces then known by the name of "Jigs." This species of humorous theatrical performance consisted, as formerly observed, of singing, dancing, and music, and a specimen by Tarlton has come down to our day in manuscript, and is inserted in the introduction to one of the publications of the Shakespeare

usual way of spelling the name was Tarleton, and perhaps it ought to have been followed.

¹ See vol. i., p. cliv., of Collier's Shakespeare; and p. 18 of the present volume.

Society.¹ From this relic we may judge in some degree of the rest; and there can be no doubt that drollery and satire were intermixed in them with a great deal of low buffoonery, and that they sometimes required the assistance of other performers. We have traces of three "jigs" in connection with Kemp's name, but how far he was concerned in the authorship of them, it would most likely be impossible to determine, had any of them reached our day: as it is, we only find mention of them in the registers of the Stationers' Company, when they were entered with a view to publication. That one of them was actually printed we have contemporary evidence in the collection of Epigrams and Satires published anonymously (but unquestionably by Edward Guilpin) under the title of "*Skialetheia, or the Shadow of Truth*," 8vo., 1598, where we are informed that "*Kemp's Jig*" was then sung in the open streets:—

But, oh, purgation! yon rotten-throated slaves,
Engarlanded with coney-catching knaves,
Whores, bedles, bawdes, and sergents, filthily
Chaunt Kemp's Jigge, or the Burgonian's tragedy.²

No clue is elsewhere given to lead us to a knowledge of the particular jig by Kemp here alluded to; but, as we have already

¹ "*Tarlton's Jests, and News out of Purgatory*," edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c., p. xx. The jig is entitled "*Tarlton's Jigge of a horse-loade of Fools*."

² In the year after the appearance of "*Skialetheia*," Marston published his "*Scourge of Villanie*," and there also "*Kemp's Jig*" is spoken of, but not as a song or ballad, but as a dance.

"A hall! a hall!

Roome for the spheres: the orbes celestiall
Will *daunce* Kempes Jigge."

See Mr. Halliwell's "*MS. Rarities of Cambridge*," p. 8, for an account of the preservation of the music of "*Kemp's Jigs*," although the notes are unfortunately not accompanied by words.

mentioned, there are traces of three in association with his name, and they stand thus in the only extant record of their existence—the books of the Stationers' Company. The first memorandum shows that two other parts of the jig had been written, acted, and perhaps printed, but no notice of them is to be found in the registers.

28 December, 1591, Thomas Gosson, entred for his copie, under thand of Mr. Watkins, the Thirde and last parte of Kempe's Jigge, soe yt appertayne not to anie other..... vjd.

ii^{do} die Maij, 1595, William Blackwall, enterd for his copie under Mr. Warden Binges hande, a ballad of Mr. Kempe's Newe Jigge of the Kitchen stufte Woman vjd.

21 October, 1595, Tho. Gosson, entred for his copie under thande of the Wardens, a ballad called Kempe's new Jygge betwixt a souldior, and a miser, and Sym the clown vjd.¹

The last entry proves, if proof were wanting, that three performers were sometimes required for a jig, but the only extant specimen was evidently delivered by Tarlton alone, who sang it, and accompanied himself at intervals on his pipe and tabor. The names of Thomas Gosson and William Blackwall were those of the booksellers, who, having procured copies of the productions, wished to secure the right of publishing them; but we may reasonably doubt, as in the case of Phillips (p. 82), whether they were composed or only acted by Kemp, and whether he was privy to, or obtained any advantage by, their publication. As far as we can judge, jigs were introduced by comic actors to relieve the weight of a performance, and to dismiss the spectators cheerfully. Ben Jonson, in "Every Man out of his Humour," acted in 1599, speaks of "a jig after a play," and in "Jack Drum's Entertainment," printed in 1601, we are told that it was then customary "to call for a jig after the play was done."

¹ We derive these memoranda, often misquoted by others, from the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to Kemp's "Nine Days' Wonder," p. xx.

We are not disposed to impute any high literary attainments to Kemp, and it is very evident that the author of "The Return from Parnassus," of which we shall say more presently, meant to cast some ridicule upon his ignorance, when he made him pronounce an opinion in his own person that "Few of the University pen plays well: they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter." We have therefore no hesitation in concurring with the Rev. Mr. Dyce that Kemp was not the author of "A dutiful Invective against the most haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington," 4to., 1587. Though we agree in the result, we do not agree in the reasoning by which it is supported; for when Mr. Dyce urges that Kemp's word is to be taken, that his "Nine Days' Wonder" was "the first pamphlet" he had ever "offered to the press," the reverend gentleman forgets the facts, to which he himself adverted, relating to the publication of Kemp's three "jigs" in 1591 and 1595. It is very possible, however, that Kemp was not concerned in the temporary drolleries issued under his name, excepting as the performer of them. The "Dutiful Invective" was assuredly not his; and in the "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," iii., 28, Ritson's information upon the point was too hastily adopted. It is not unlikely, however, that Kemp's name was then improperly made use of on account of its popularity.

The Stationers' books do not state at what theatre Kemp's "jigs" were performed; but, as already observed, it is ascertained that he had returned to his old quarters as a member of the company called the Lord Chamberlain's players, in 1596. He seems to have continued to act with them, at all events, until after the production of "Much Ado about Nothing," as we suppose about 1599, and how much longer is doubtful: we also know nothing, excepting by conjecture, of the cause of his joining the rival association under Alleyn,

who, in conjunction with Henslowe and others, had built the Fortune theatre in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in the very commencement of the seventeenth century, and who possibly, and for the sake of giving attraction to the house, induced Kemp to abandon his old associates at the Globe and Blackfriars. Certain it is that he was a member of the company which acted under the patronage of the Earl of Nottingham until the accession of James I., when they became the players of Prince Henry; and although we do not meet with Kemp's name in any extant list of the association, it occurs several times in Henslowe's Diary, relating mainly to the transactions of the Earl of Nottingham's players, under the dates of March, August, and September, 1602. The following extracts prove incontestibly that Kemp was in Henslowe's pay and employment, as an actor, at that period.

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 10 of Marche, 1602, in redy monye, twentye shellinges for his necessary uses, the some of xx^s. (*Diary*, p. 215.)

Lent unto Wm. Kempe, the 22 of Auguste, 1602, to bye buckram to make a payer of gyents hose, the some of v^s. (p. 237.)

Lent unto the company the 3 of Septembr, 1602, to bye a sewte for Wm. Kempe, the some of xxx^s. (p. 238.)

Pd unto your tyerman for mackinge of Wm. Kempes sewt, and the boyes, the 4 of septembr, 1602, some of viij^s 8^d. (p. 239.)

Here we see Kemp spoken of and treated by the old manager like any ordinary member of the company: money was advanced to him, another sum was paid to him that he might obtain materials for one of the properties, a third amount was lent to the company to purchase a suit for him, and a fourth was delivered to the tireman, who had charge of the apparel of the actors, in order that Kemp and his boy might be furnished with dresses adapted to the particular characters they were to perform.

We have already adverted to Kemp's talent for and

habit of extemporizing, taking license, in the words of old Letoy—

to add unto

Your parts your own free fancy, and sometimes
To alter or diminish what the writer
With care and skill compos'd; and when you are
To speak to your co-actors in the scene,
You hold interlocutions with the audience.

Nobody can fail to recollect that this is precisely the fault imputed by Shakespeare, in a well known passage of his "Hamlet," to actors of Kemp's description: "Let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them; for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be considered: that's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it." These words read as if they had been written actually with an eye to Kemp, and it is possible that our great dramatist had a special and personal reference to him. We are to bear in mind that "Hamlet" was probably not composed until "the winter of 1601, or the spring of 1602;"¹ and it was about this date, according to the quotations from Henslowe's "Diary," that Kemp went over from the Lord Chamberlain's to Lord Nottingham's players, and of course did his best to promote the success of a competing association. It would, therefore, not be surprising if, besides laying down a general axiom as to the abuse introduced by the performers of the parts of clowns, Shakespeare had designed a particular allusion to Kemp.

It is evident that Kemp continued a member of the company of the Lord Chamberlain's players when "The Return from Parnassus" was written, in which he and Burbadge are employed to ascertain the merits of two university students, the

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, vol. vii., p. 190.

one in comic, and the other in tragic acting. This play, as we observed on p. 27, was not printed until 1606, at least no earlier edition has yet been found;¹ but it is quite clear that it was acted while Queen Elizabeth was on the throne, and we may bring its date even to a nearer point, for Nash is spoken of in it as dead, and it is ascertained, in the Introduction to the Shakespeare Society's reprint of "*Pierce Penniless's Supplication*," (p. xxxi) that its author had expired before 1601. We may conclude, therefore, that "*The Return from Parnassus*" was written between the date when Kemp rejoined the Lord Chamberlain's players, and the death of Nash.² In act iv., sc. 5, Burbadge and Kemp speak of engaging some of the Cambridge scholars "at a low rate," to perform in the association to which the two actors then belonged, and while Burbadge was introduced as the representative of high tragedy, Kemp was brought forward as a sort of impersonation of low comedy. After Philomusus and Studioso have entered, the latter addresses Kemp, and alludes to an important incident of his life, of which we shall say more hereafter.

"*Studioso.* God save you, M. Kempe: welcome, M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes."³

¹ A drama preliminary to "*The Return from Parnassus*," probably called "*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*," certainly once existed, and has been lost. In the Prologue to "*The Return from Parnassus*," it is said—

"In scholars' fortunes, twice forlorn and dead,
Twice hath our weary pen erst laboured,
Making them Pilgrims in Parnassus' hill,
Then penning their Return with ruder quill."

² Bodenham's "*Belvedere or the Garden of the Muses*," is criticised in act i., sc. 2, and that work bears date in 1600.

³ Philomusus just before has asked him, "What, M. Kempe! how doth the Emperor of Germany?" Which refers either to a dancing expedition he had made into Germany, or possibly to his performance in some company of English players who had visited that part of the Con-

Kemp. Well, you merry knaves, you may come to the honour of it one day. Is it not better to make a fool of the world, as I have done, than to be fooled of the world, as you scholars are?"

And thence he proceeds to advert to the profitableness of acting, and to the reputations which he and Burbadge had acquired by it. Philomusus admits that Kemp is "very famous," not only for his performances on the stage, but for his "works in print," referring of course to his jigs of 1591 and 1595, and perhaps to his "Nine Days' Wonder," which came out with the date of 1600 upon the title-page.¹ Burbadge then takes *Studioso* in hand, to ascertain how well he can perform the part of Jeronimo in "The Spanish Tragedy;" while Kemp proceeds to show Philomusus practically how he is to act the part of "a foolish mayor or a foolish justice of peace."² It is not necessary to quote the speech Kemp puts into the mouth of the silly magistrate, because the play is printed in Hawkins's "Origin of the English Drama," vol. iii., p. 199, and the passage is quoted at length in the Rev. Mr. Dyce's Introduction to the "Nine Days' Wonder."

The same learned writer considers the words "Welcome, tinent. We know from Heywood's "Apology for Actors," 1612, and other sources (see "The Alleyn Papers," p. 19), that associations of English players had exhibited in the Low Countries and elsewhere. Hereafter we shall advert to another authority, showing that Kemp had been in Germany.

¹ If Philomusus refer to the "Nine Days' Wonder," it establishes, of course, that "The Return from Parnassus" was written after its appearance.

² These are the words which are taken by Malone to prove that Kemp was the representative of Justice Shallow: he says, "From the following passage *we may conclude* that Kemp was the original Justice Shallow." (Shakspeare by Boswell, xvii., 114.) To us they do not seem by any means strong enough to support even an inference of the kind. The Rev. Mr. Dyce, as we think unwarily, follows the dictum of Malone.

M. Kempe, from dancing a Morrice over the Alpes," only "a sportive allusion to his journey to Norwich." There does not seem much plausibility in this supposition, because we do not perceive the immediate connection between Norwich and the Alps; and we can prove, moreover (facts with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce was not acquainted), that Kemp was in France, Germany, and Italy: he danced a Morris into France, and undertook a journey into Italy, under an engagement to return within a certain number of days.¹

Of his Morris-dance to Norwich Kemp published an account on his return, and popular as the work must have been, only a single copy of it has been preserved;² but the wood-cut upon the title-page, representing Kemp dancing with bells on his legs, and in a sort of brocaded jacket and scarf, attended by Thomas Slye, who acted as his taborer (and who was, perhaps, related to William Slye, the actor in Shakespeare's plays), may be seen at the top of several ballads, as a not very appropriate ornament. After it had been used for the "Nine Days' Wonder," it seems to have come into the hands of Thomas Symcocke, the prolific publisher of versified broadsides, and he and his assigns employed it accordingly. The narra-

¹ It was usual for persons making expeditions of this sort to lay wagers, taking odds upon the accomplishment of the task. Kemp did so, even when he undertook to dance a Morris to Norwich; and he tells us, near the end of his "Nine Days' Wonder," that some of the persons, with whom he "put out money" on the event, had not paid him when he won: "True it is (he states) I put out some money to have three-fold gaine at my returne: some that love me, regard my paines and respect their promise, have sent home the treble worth: some other at first sight have paide me, if I came to seeke them: others I cannot see, nor wil they willingly be found, and these are the greater number."

² Perhaps on the very account of its popularity, and in consequence of the number of destroying hands through which the small tract passed: for this reason much, if not most, of the popular literature of early times has not come down to our own.

tive of the trip to Norwich, which purports to have been written by Kemp "to satisfy his friends," was printed in 4to., and bears the following title:—

"Kemps nine daies wonder.¹ Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines, and kinde entertainment of William Kemp betweene London and that Citty in his late Morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note, to reprove the slaunders spred of him; many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends. London Printed by E. A., for Nicholas Ling, and are to be solde at his shop at the west doore of Saint Paules Church 1600."

This very rare performance, intrinsically of little value, and probably put together by some more practised penman than Kemp, having been recently reprinted by the Camden Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. A. Dyce, it is not necessary to go into any detail regarding it. It shows that Kemp took nine days to complete his fatiguing and eccentric journey, and hence the title of his tract. It narrates with some humour and vivacity all his principal adventures on the road; but the most curious portion is "Kemp's humble request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers and their coherents," which is placed at the end, and which contains some droll and dark allusions to ephemeral and popular writers of the day. Thomas Deloney, who, according to this authority, was then dead, is mentioned by name;² but the references to living authors of the same class, such perhaps as

¹ Before he undertook this journey to Norwich, Kemp must have obtained celebrity for undertakings of the kind: otherwise there would have been no point in Carlo Buffone's exclamation in "Every Man out of his Humour" (first acted at the Globe in the summer of 1599), when he says, "Would I had one of Kemp's old shoes to throw after you!"

² The following notice of Deloney, from Nash's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, is worth quoting.

"Heilding Dicke (this our ages Albumazar) is a temporist, that hath

Richard Johnson,¹ Anthony Munday,² and the author of "the miserable stolen story of Macdoel, or Macdobeth, or Macsomewhat," are often so obscure and indistinct, that it is impossible to fix the allusion decisively. The Rev. Mr. Dyce is probably in error about Munday (who, he does not seem to

faith enough for all religions, even as Thomas Deloney, the ballting silke-weaver, hath rime enough for all myracles, and wit to make a *Garland of good will* more than the premisses, with an epistle of Momus and Zoilus; whereas his Muse, from the first peeping forth, hath stood at livery at an ale-house wispe, never exceeding a penny quart, day nor night, and this deare yeare, together with the silencing of his looma, scarce that, he being constrained to betake him to carded ale: whence it proceedeth that since *Candlemas*, or his jigge *John for the King*, not one merrie dittie will come from him, but *The Thunder-bolt against Swearers*, *Repent, England, repent*, and *The Strange Judgements of God*."

In the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we meet with the entry of baptism of Deloney's son Richard, which is quite a new fact:—

"Christened: Richard Delonie, sonne of Thomas Delonie, silk-weaver, 16 October, 1586."

It may be doubted whether the following, from the same registers, do not refer to the death of the same child, although the Christian name of the father seems mistaken:—

"Buryed: Richard Delonie, sonne of John Delonie, silk-weaver, 21 Dec., 1586."

¹ Richard Johnson, the ballad-writer, is not to be confounded with William Johnson, the player, first a member of Lord Leicester's company in 1574, regarding whom we find the following singular entry among the christenings in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate:—

"Comedia, base-borne daughter of Alice Bowker, and, as she saithe, the father's name is William Johnson, one of the Queen's plaiers. 10 Feb., 1586."

The child died in 1593, and its burial is thus recorded:—

"Comedia, daughter of William Johnson, player. 3 March, 1592."

² Anthony Munday, the actor and author, was an inhabitant of the parish of Cripplegate, and in the registers of St. Giles's church we meet

be aware, was an actor as well as a dramatist), and he has missed, at the close, a tolerably clear and severe stroke at Henry Chettle, where Kemp speaks of him as the author of a play relating to "the Prince of the burning crown:" a burning crown, forced on the head of a prince, forms an important incident in Chettle's tragedy of "Hoffman," which was not printed until 1631, although written some thirty years earlier.

Not far from the end of his "Nine Days' Wonder," and in the address to the ballad-makers above referred to, occurs this passage:—

"These are by these presents to certify unto your block-head-ships, that I, William Kemp, . . . am shortly, God willing, to set forward, as merrily as I may, whither I myself know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye to employ not your little wits in certifying to the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint."

The Reverend Editor of the reprint of the work remarks inadvertently upon this quotation, that "no record of this second feat has come down to us;" and yet very shortly afterwards he produces a play, printed in 1607, and written some with the following entries regarding his children; they are novel in his biography:—

"Christened: Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Antoyne Mundaye, gent. 28th June, 1584.

"Christened: Roase Mounday, daughter of Antonye Moundaye, gent. 17 Oct., 1585. [Buried 19 Jan., 1585.]

"Christened: Priscilla Munday, daughter of Antony Mundaye, gent. 9 Jan., 1586.

"Christened: Richard Mundaye, sonne of Antonye Mondye, gentleman. 27 Jan., 1587.

"Christened: Anne, daughter of Antonye Munday, gent. 5 Sept., 1589."

Until now we knew not the "local habitation" of Anthony Monday, only his "name."

years before, showing distinctly that Kemp was in Venice with Sir Anthony Shirley. We allude to "The Travels of the three English Brothers," &c., by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins.¹ The scene of what follows is laid in Venice.

Enter Servant.

Serv. Sir, here's an Englishman desires access to you.

Sir Ant. An Englishman! What's his name?

Serv. He calls himself Kemp.

Sir Ant. Kemp! bid him come in.

Enter Kemp.

Welcome, honest Will! and how doth all thy fellows in England?

Kemp. Why, like good fellows, when they have no money, live upon credit."

Hence Sir Anthony Shirley proceeds to ask Kemp what new plays had been brought out in London; and Kemp mentions a piece called "England's Joy."² An "Italian Harlequin" being announced, he offers to get up an extemporal play, or *commedia al improvviso*; and Kemp (who is accompanied by his boy, or apprentice) agrees, at the instance of Sir Anthony, to assist in the performance of it, observing, "I am somewhat hard of study, and like your honour, but if they will invent

¹ Wilkins was also author of "The Miseries of Inforced Marriage," 1607, and in vol. v. of Dodsley's Old Plays. As confessedly nothing is known regarding him, we are happy to be able to furnish the date of his death, four years before any dramatic work from his pen came from the press: it is from the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch:—

"1603. George Wilkins, the poet, was buried the same day [i. e., 19th August], Halliwell Street."

Halliwell, or Holywell Street, was the place of his residence; and as "the plague" was raging furiously in the summer and autumn of 1603, he probably died of it.

² For an account of this production, which was not properly a play, see "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," iii., 405.

any extemporal merriment, I'll put out the small sacke of wit I ha' left in venture with them." This is followed, after Sir Anthony has withdrawn, by a long, coarse scene, which we omit, as it does not in any way contribute to our knowledge of Kemp's conduct or character. All that the extract is valuable for is to prove that, which Mr. Dyce does not seem aware it establishes, viz., that the incident was founded on fact, and that Kemp was in Venice very early in the seventeenth century.

That he was also in Rome about the same period, we are able to show by other evidence, though we have no reason to think he proceeded as far as Jerusalem, the other city he mentions in the passage we have quoted from his "Nine Days' Wonder." In the first place, unless Kemp had been in Rome, what can be the meaning of the fourth line in the following extract from a medley-ballad, printed in black letter, either at the time he was absent or very shortly afterwards, "for the assignes of Thomas Symcocke," who was the stationer in possession of the woodcut of Kemp dancing his Morris to Norwich? it is entitled "An excellent new Medley," and it consists of scraps of ballads strung together, and generally ridiculous (and intended to be so) from their want of connection.

Diana and her darlings deere,
 The Dutchmen ply the double beere;
 Boys, ring the bells, and make good cheere,
When Kempe returnes from Rome.
 O man! what meanes thy heavie looke?
 Is Will not in his mistris' booke?
 Sir Rowland for a refuge tooke
 Horne Castle."

It is to his journey to Rome that William Rowley refers in his "Search for Money," 1609, 4to., when, in the Address "to all those that lack money," he says, "Yee have beene either eare, or eye witnesses, or both, to many madde voiages

made of late yeares, both by sea and land, as *the travell to Rome with the return in certain daies*, the wild morrise to Norrige, the fellowes going back-ward to Barwick,¹ another hopping from Yorke to London, and the transforming of the top of Paule's into a stable." We may conclude, therefore, that when Kemp started for Rome he undertook to be back in a certain time, and laid wagers, with large odds in his favour, to that effect, as indeed we have seen on his own authority he had done with regard to his Morris-dance to Norwich. He, doubtless, went through France into Italy; and of his taking France in his way we find mention in Weelkes's "*Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites for three Voices*," a musical work printed in 1608, where the subsequent words accompany the notes of a song.

Since Robin Hood, maid Marian,
And little John, are gone a,
The hobby horse was quite forgot,
When Kempe did dance alone a.
He did labour after the tabor
For to dance *then into France*
He took pains
To skip it.
In hopes of gains
He will trip it
On the toe.

But Mr. Halliwell, in the notes to the Shakespeare Society's edition of the "*Coventry Plays*," has adduced an irrefragable

¹ This feat of going backwards to Berwick, as well as Kemp's Morris to Norwich, are both mentioned by Ben Jonson in a poem, inserted on p. 814 of the folio edition of his Works in 1616.

"Or him that backward went to Berwicke, or which
Did dance the famous Morrisse unto Norwich."

This passage does not appear to have occurred to the Rev. Mr. Dyce among the other authorities he cites (Intro. to the "*Nine Days' Wonder*," p. ix), on the subject of Kemp's Morris-dance.

piece of evidence that Kemp was in Rome, and it gives the very day of the month when he returned.¹ This alone would be sufficient to confute the statement, that "no record of this second feat has come down to us, and we may conclude that it was never accomplished." Mr. Halliwell makes the following quotation from MS. Sloane, 392, fol. 401 :—

1601. September 2. Kemp, mimus quidam, *qui peregrationem quandam in Germaniam, et Italiam, instituerat*, per multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus: multa refert de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romæ (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat.

Here we see that Kemp had not only been in Italy, but, as we before noticed, in Germany, and (according to the suggestion of Mr. Halliwell) he was probably the first to convey to England the news regarding the proceedings of Shirley in Persia. The arrival of Kemp in London on this account, if on no other, must have created a considerable sensation.

It was after his return from these foreign expeditions that we find Kempe uniting his exertions with those of Alleyn and his fellow actors, principally at the Fortune theatre in Cripplegate, but sometimes at the Rose, on the Bankside, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Globe, to the company performing at which last he had previously been attached.

There can be little doubt that at an earlier date, and perhaps at the period to which we are now referring, Kemp lived in Southwark. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's contain the names "William Kemp" not unfrequently, but still we cannot be sure that the actor was intended, because in these curious records the occupation of the parties is never

¹ Mr. Halliwell therefore very justly considers, that the scene in "The Travailes of the Three English Brothers" was founded on fact. He also cites, in the same place, the song from Weelkes's "Ayres, or Phantasticke Sprites," 1608, without being aware, perhaps, that it had been previously printed in the Introduction to the re-publication of Rowley's "Search for Money." See *Ludus Coventriæ*, p. 410.

inserted. In 1595, 1596, 1598, and 1599, Kemp (presuming it was he) lived in a place called Samson's Rents: in 1602 he was in "Langley's New Rents;" and we are to recollect that Langley was connected in some way with the company under Edward Alleyn (Henslowe's "Diary," p. 134). What renders it still more probable that our actor was intended is the addition of a note, in the token-book of 1605, that his residence was "near the playhouse," though which playhouse was meant is not specified. In that year he was again acting at the Blackfriars and Globe.

It has been remarked, with apparent surprise, that the name of William Kemp is not found with those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, Phillipps, Heminge, Condell, Sly, Armin, and Cowley, in the license to his player, granted by King James on the 17th May, 1603.¹ According to our present knowledge, it would have been extraordinary to have found Kemp included in the instrument, because there is every reason to suppose that he was then a member of the rival association under Henslowe and Alleyn: we are sure that he was so in the autumn of 1602, and the mere fact of the absence of his distinguished name, in the list of the King's actors in the spring of 1603, shows sufficiently that he continued with the players of Prince Henry at the Fortune. Chalmers was disposed to think that Kemp died very soon after 1603, because in the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark, he found the following entry of the death of a person of the common name of William Kemp—"1603. November 2. William Kempe, a man;"² but he himself proves that another William Kemp was married at St. Bartholomew the Less, not far from the Blackfriars theatre, in 1606.³ The truth is, that William

¹ Introduction to the Camden Society's reprint of "Kemp's Nine Days' Wonder," p. ix.

² "Apology for the Believers," p. 458, note b.

³ John Underwood, another actor in Shakespeare's plays, though of inferior note, lived and died in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less,

Kemp, the actor, was alive in 1605, and, with Armyn and other players at the Blackfriars, was the object of a complaint to the Privy Council, on the part of the authorities of the city of London, for bringing some of the aldermen derogatorily upon the stage: the memorandum upon this point, derived from the civic archives, runs as follows:—

Lenard Haliday, Maior, 1605.

Whereas Kempe, Armyn, and others, plaiers at the Blacke Fryers, have again not forborne to bring upon their stage one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the City of London, to their great scandall and to the lessening of their authority, the Lords of the right honorable the Privy Counsell are besought to call the said Players before them, and to enquire into the same, that order may be taken to remedy the abuse, either by putting down or removing the said theatre.

The corporation of London had been from the first strongly opposed to the opening and continuance of a theatre in the precinct and liberty of the Blackfriars, and lost no opportunity of pointing out the objections to, and the inconveniences resulting from it. What new ground of hostility had been afforded to the Lord Mayor and aldermen in this instance we have no means of deciding, but, as we have remarked, (p. 42) shortly before this date Shakespeare quitted the stage, and withdrew from the active control and immediate superintendence of the company: the consequence apparently was, that the other members of the association ran into various offences, not merely against the magnates of the metropolis, but against foreign princes, and even against King James himself, whose servants he had two years before permitted them to call themselves.

We consider it quite certain, therefore, that Kemp was still living in 1605, and it is equally clear that, prior to that year, he had rejoined the King's players: he must have done so as appears by his will, dated 4th October, 1624. See the memoir of him hereafter in this volume.

after May, 1603, but at what precise date, previous to the remonstrance of the Lord Mayor, &c., above cited, no means of knowledge have occurred to us. The Rev. Mr. Dyce did not advert to this document when he expressed the inclination of his mind, that Chalmers's extract from the register of St. Saviour's parish related to William Kemp, the subject of our memoir.¹ Besides, we have proved from the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, that a William Kemp was living "near the playhouse" in 1605. It is quite as likely, also, that an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, relating to the baptism of "George, son of William Kemp," in October, 1605, applies to him, as that the record merely of the burial of "William Kemp, a man," in Southwark, should relate to him, especially as it was usual in that parish to designate the occupation of the parties, when they were players: if the entry there had related to our William Kemp, it would in all probability have run, not "William Kemp, a man," but "William Kemp, player." We have no doubt, therefore, that Kemp, the actor, was living in the autumn of 1605.

We have been at much pains to search the registers of the various parishes in which any of our early theatres were situated, but we have found no entry to prove where, or at what precise time, Kemp expired. The nearest point at which we can arrive is, that he was dead before Dekker wrote his "Gull's Horn-book," which was printed in 1609: we there read as follows: "Tush! tush! Tarleton, Kemp, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fooles that now come drawling behinde them, never plaid the clownes more naturally then the arrantest sot of you all." This passage was cited by Malone,² and to it may be added the testimony of Thomas Heywood, who in his "Apology for

¹ If identity of names would prove anything, Kemp died in 1589. We meet with the following entry in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

"Buried. William Kempe, servant with Wilham Holliday 15th April, 1589."

² Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 199.

Actors," 1612, includes Kemp among the comic performers he had seen and known, but who were then no more: "All the right," says he, "I can do them is but this, that *though they be dead*, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many."¹ We conclude with a tribute from the pen of Richard Brathwayte, published in 1618, in a work he entitled "Remains after Death"—

UPON KEMPE AND HIS MORICE, WITH HIS EPITAPH.

Welcome from Norwich, Kempe: all joy, to see
 Thy safe returne moriscoed lustily!
 But out, alas! how soone's thy morice done!
 When pipe and taber, all thy friends be gone,
 And leave thee now to dance the second part
 With feeble nature, not with nimble art:
 Then all thy triumphs, fraught with strains of mirth,
 Shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth.
 Shall be? they are. Thou'st danc'd thee out of breath,
 And now must make thy parting dance with Death.

We are not aware that any other poet left behind him a memorial relating to Kemp's character or abilities.

¹ Apology for Actors, Sig. E, 2 b of the original edition, and p. 43 of the reprint by the Shakespeare Society.

THOMAS POPE.

From what part of the kingdom Thomas Pope¹ came we have no information, but his mother's name was Agnes Webbe, and Agnes and Webbe were names of persons connected with Stratford-upon-Avon and its vicinity. In 1560, Agnes Arden (whose maiden-name was Agnes Webbe), widow, granted a lease of forty years to Alexander Webbe of two houses and a cottage in Smitterfield (three miles from Stratford) in the occupation of Richard Shakespeare and two others.² This fact may warrant a suspicion that Pope, like Shakespeare, Burbage, Heminge, Tooley, Green, and other eminent actors of the time, originally came from Warwickshire: his mother was alive at the time of his death, as well as his two brothers, John and William Pope.

The first time we hear of him is prior to 1588, when he acted Arbactus in Tarlton's play of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" "To them Arbactus, Mr. Pope—to him, Will, fool." In this relic he is invariably called "Mr. Pope," a distinction that belongs also to Phillips and to Bryan.³ He seems to have been a comic performer, and to

¹ The name is spelt Poope in the list of actors in the folio of 1623, but elsewhere the orthography is invariably Pope.

² Collier's Shakespeare, i., lxii.

³ We may infer, perhaps, that at this time he was an actor at the Curtain, in which theatre he owned shares to the last. There is some reason to suppose that in 1593 he belonged to the same company as Edward Alleyn, who, writing to his wife on 1st August of that year, says, "I have sent you by this bearer, Thomas Pope's kinsman, my white waistcoat, because it is a trouble to me to carry it. receive it with this letter, and

have filled the parts of rustic clowns. Samuel Rowlands published his "Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vein" in 1600, and in Satire iv. he speaks of Pope and Singer as then both alive; but as they were dead before 1611, when the work was reprinted, he rather clumsily altered the passage to the past tense as follows:—

What meant Singer, then,
And Pope, the clown, to speak so boorish, when
They counterfeit the clowns upon the stage,
Since country fellows grow in this same age
To be so quaint in their new printed speech,
That cloth will now compare with velvet breech?

The last line, of course, refers to Robert Greene's celebrated "Contention between Velvet Breeches and Cloth Breeches," first printed in 1592. In 1611, when Rowlands published the new edition of his "Letting of Humours Blood," &c., Pope had been dead about eight years.

His eminence in the profession cannot be doubted. In 1596 his name stands at the head of the eight petitioners to the Privy Council for the repair of the Blackfriars theatre:¹ in 1599 he and John Heminge represented the company of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received £30 for the performance of three plays at court;² and it seems more than probable that Pope ceased to act soon afterwards, although he continued connected with three theatres to the day of his death. His name is not included in the list of the King's players in May, 1603, as from his eminence it must unquestionably have been, if he had then remained upon the stage. He had a character in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his

lay it up for me till I come."—"Memoirs of Alleyn," p. 26. If this were so, Pope had certainly become one of the Lord Chamberlain's players in 1596.

¹ See p. 18 of this volume.

² Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," Introd., p. xxxii.

Humour" in 1598," and in the same dramatist's "Every Man out of his Humour" in 1599, but we recollect no other plays with which his name is connected. What parts were allotted to him in any of the dramas of Shakespeare, we can only speculate from the fact that, at all events late in his career, he was accustomed to represent rustics.

Mr. Cunningham conjectures that Pope sold his interest in the Blackfriars theatre to Shakespeare; and as he does not mention it in his will, we may be tolerably certain that he had, in some way, disposed of his shares in that undertaking: the playhouses in which he was concerned in 1603 were the Curtain in Shoreditch, and the Globe and Rose on Bankside. In what way he was connected with the Rose is not clear, and it depends upon the following not very intelligible passage in the "Diary" of Philip Henslowe: we do not adhere to the old manager's ignorant and arbitrary orthography.

"Memorandum, that on the 25th of June, 1603, I talked with Mr. Pope, at the scrivener's shop where he lives, concerning the taking of the lease of the Little Rose, and he showed me a writing betwixt the parish and himself, which was to pay twenty pound a year rent, and to bestow a hundred marks upon building, which I said I would rather pull down the playhouse than I would do so, and he bade me do, and said he gave me leave, and would bear me out, for it was in him to do it."¹

Hence we may infer, perhaps, that the ground on which the Rose theatre stood belonged to the parish of St. Saviour's, and that Pope had obtained, or was on the point of obtaining, a lease of it at a rent of £20 a year: Henslowe, as owner of the theatre which stood upon it, was required to lay out one hundred marks upon building, which he so strongly objected to do, that he told Pope he would rather pull down the playhouse; and Pope was contented that he should do so, if he

¹ Henslowe's "Diary," printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 235.

liked it, and promised to bear him harmless. Pope did not care, as far as he was concerned, whether the Rose were or were not pulled down, because other houses might be built upon the ground, and Henslowe, not long before, had opened the Fortune theatre in a different part of the town.¹ By a previous part of Henslowe's "Diary" we find, that some dispute had arisen, in 1598, between Pope and Borne (or Bird), an actor in the company of the Earl of Nottingham's players, and that the old manager had lent Borne ten shillings, "to follow the suit" he had commenced.²

The conversation between Pope and Henslowe respecting the Rose took place on the 25th June, 1603, at the scrivener's shop where Pope lived, who was no doubt the same scrivener, Basil Nicholl, who was appointed one of the overseers of his will. The lease of the house belonged to Pope, and he bequeathed it, on certain conditions, to Susan Gasquine; but it is somewhat singular that he should say nothing of his interest in the ground on which the Rose stood: perhaps the writing that he showed Henslowe, between him and the parish, respecting a lease of it, was not executed, and that the agreement, after what Henslowe had declared, came to nothing.

The token-books of St. Saviour's parish prove that Pope had been an inhabitant of Southwark as early as 1593, before the Globe was built: in that year he lived in what were called Blamer's Rents; but in 1595 he had removed to Wrench's Rents,³ and in the next year we find him in "Mr. Langley's

¹ Henslowe was under an engagement, either express or implied, to pull down the Rose when he opened the Fortune; and one of the reasons he gave to the public authorities for building the Fortune was, that the Rose was in such a state of decay, that it could not be longer used as a playhouse.

² Henslowe's "Diary," p. 109.

³ John Wrench, probably the owner of the property, was one of Pope's executors, and one of the witnesses to his will.

New Rents," where he subsequently remained, probably till his death: he was there in 1598, 1600, and 1602, the token-books of those years having been preserved. According to a note in the token-book of 1602, Pope must have bought, or built, a house next to that in which he himself resided: it runs thus—"Next unto Pope's new one: Mayster Pope hathe nowe both houses in Mayster Langlies Rents."¹

All that Malone knew about Pope was expressed in these terms: "This actor likewise performed the part of a clown. He died before the year 1600." To prove that he died "before the year 1600," he refers to Heywood's "Apology for Actors," which was printed in 1612, and only shows that Pope was then dead. The fact is, as Chalmers established, that Pope lived only till 1604, and made his will about a month after his conversation with Henslowe, for it bears date on the 22nd July, 1603. He was then, as the instrument states, "in good and perfect health," and the cause of his death, in February following, is no where recorded.

We may conclude, from the wording of the will, that Pope was never married;² but he left considerable property and money to Susan Gasquine, "whom he had brought up ever since she was born," and to "Mary Clarke, alias Wood:" to the latter, and to Thomas Bromley, "who was heretofore

¹ By Pope's will it should seem that at his death he was the owner of three adjoining houses in Langley's Rents: he lived in the centre one himself, and his tenant to the east was John Moden, and to the west John Holland. The ground on which the houses stood he held upon lease, but for what term of years is not stated. An actor of the name of J. Holland had performed with Pope in "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" he was most likely Pope's tenant.

² According to the registers of St. Saviour's, a Thomas Pope was married to Frances Gardiner on 21st October, 1607: this was perhaps the son of one of our actor's brothers, who do not seem to have been in any way connected with the stage. By the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, it appears that John Pope lived in that parish.

baptised in the parish of St. Andrew, Undershaft," he bequeathed his shares in the Curtain and Globe theatres. He left his mother, and his two brothers, John and William Pope, specific legacies of £20 each, and besides, made them residuary legatees. It is impossible from the terms of the will (which we subjoin) to ascertain how much Thomas Pope died worth; but he must have been in easy circumstances, and directed, among other things, that £20 should be laid out upon his funeral expenses, and a monument in the church of St. Saviour's Southwark. If such a monument were erected, it is not now to be found. Perhaps, as is suggested in a note on p. 19, Pope died in the country.

In the name of God, Amen, the two and twenty of July, in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and three, and the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James: I, Thomas Pope, of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, being at this present in good and perfect health, laude and praise be given to the Almighty God therefore, do make, ordain and declare this my present testament and last will in manner and form following; that is to say: first and principally, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Maker, Saviour, and Redeemer, hoping and assuredly believing to be saved through the merits, death, and passion, of my Saviour, Jesus Christ, and to enjoy eternal blessedness in the kingdom of Heaven; and my body I commit to the earth to be buried in Christian burial, in the church called St. Saviour's, where I now dwell; and I give towards the setting up of some monument on me in the said church, and my funeral, twenty pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to the poor of the liberty where now I dwell, three pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath unto Suzan Gasquine, whom I have brought up ever since she was born, the sum of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, and all my household stuff, my plate only excepted.

Item, I will that the said Suzan Gasquine shall have the use and occupation of all that house or tenement wherein I now dwell, in the parish of St. Saviour's aforesaid, during her natural life, if the lease and term of years which I have in the same shall so long continue and endure, so

as the said Suzan, or her assigns, do pay the one half of the rent, reserved by the lease to me, thereof from time to time, and at such time as is limited in and by the same lease, amongst others, made by Francis Langley Drax, deceased, and do also perform such covenants touching the said tenement as are to be done by force of the said lease: and if the said Suzan shall happen to die before the expiration of the said term, then I will that my brother, John Pope, shall have the use and occupation of the said tenement during the residue, which, at the time of the decease of the said Suzan, shall be to come and unexpired of the said term, he doing for the same and paying from thenceforth as the said Suzan should or ought to have done, if she had lived to the full end of the said term.

Item, I will and bequeath unto my brother, John Pope, the tenement adjoining to the east side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Moden now dwelleth, for and during all such term of years as I have to come and unexpired of and in the same, by virtue of the lease aforesaid, so as the said John Pope and his assigns, during the continuance of the said term, do pay them half of the rent reserved by the said lease from time to time, and at such days and times as is limited by the same lease, and do perform such covenants touching only the said tenement, to him my said brother bequeathed, as are to be done by force of the said lease; and also that my said brother do within one month next after my decease enter into bond of a reasonable sum of money to my executors for payment of the said moiety, or one half of the said rent, and performance of the covenants touching the same tenement as aforesaid, according to my true meaning and intent in that behalf.

Item, I will and devise unto Mary Clarke, alias Wood, all that tenement adjoining to the west side of my said dwelling house, wherein John Holland now dwelleth, for and during the continuance of the term of years which I have in the same, (amongst others as aforesaid) by force or virtue of the said lease to me made by the said Francis Langley, to be by her holden and enjoyed from time to time, free of any rent to be paid for the same as long as she lives; and after her decease I give and bequeath my interest and term of years, then to come and unexpired, of and in the said tenement, unto Thomas Bromley, who was heretofore baptised in the parish of St. Andrew's, Undershaft, in London.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clark, alias Wood, and to

the said Thomas Bromley, as well all my part, right, title, and interest which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Curtein, situated and being in Hallywell, in the parish of St. Leonard's in Shoreditch; in the county of Middlesex, as also all my part, estate and interest, which I have, or ought to have, of, in, and to all that playhouse, with the appurtenances, called the Globe, in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the county of Surry.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Thomas Bromley the sum of fifty pounds, and my cheyne of gold, being in value thirty pounds and ten shillings, to be paid and delivered unto him at such time as he shall have accomplished his full age of one-and-twenty years, provided in the mean time his mother shall receive these legacies, in regard the use thereof may bring up the boy, putting in good security for delivering in the aforesaid legacies at his full years of one and twenty; and if the said Thomas shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before he shall have accomplished his said age of one and twenty years, then I will give and bequeath the said sum of fifty pounds, and the said cheyne of gold, unto the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, to her own use.

Item, I give and bequeath to the said Marie Clarke, alias Wood, the sum of fifty pounds more; provided always, and my will and mind is, that if the said Marie shall happen to die, and depart this mortal life before the said Thomas Bromley, then the said fifty pounds shall remain to the said Thomas Bromley, to be paid to him at such time as he shall accomplish the full age of one and twenty years.

Item, I give and bequeath to Agnes Web, my mother, the sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England; and to my brother, John Pope, the sum of twenty pounds; and to my brother, William Pope, other twenty pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to the children of my said brethren, John and William Pope, the sum of ten pounds, to be paid and distributed equal amongst the same children, part and part alike.

Item, I give and bequeath to Robert Gough and John Edmans all my wearing apparel, and all my arms, to be equally divided between them.

Item, I give and bequeath to my cousin, Thomas Owen, five pounds.

Item, I give and bequeath to my loving friend, John Jackson, one ring, with a square diamond in it.

Item, I give and bequeath to Marie Clark, alias Woode, half my plate; and to Suzan Gasquine the other half, being equally divided between them.

Item, I give and bequeath to Dorothea Clark, sister to Marie Clark, alias Wood, one gold ring, with five opalls in it: all the rest of my rings I give to good wife Willingson, who is now the keeper of my house.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my loving friend, Bazell Nicholl, scrivener, the sum of five pounds; and to my neighbour and friend, John Wrench, the sum of five pounds: the residue of all my goods, rights, and chattels, not before bequeathed, my debts and funeral charge being first satisfied, I wholie give and bequeath to my mother, my brothers, and their children, to be equally divided between them; and I do ordain and appoint my well-beloved friends, Bazell Nicholl and John Wrench, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, earnestly praying and desiring them to see the same performed in all things, according to my true meaning therein: and for because much of this money is out upon bonds, I do limit, for the performance of this my will, six months; and thus not doubting but they will perform the trust in this behalf by me in them reposed.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal.

THOMAS POPE.

Sealed in the presence of

JOHN WRENCH.

JOHN EDMANS.

We are not able, from other documents, to throw any light upon the connexion between Pope and Mary Clarke, alias Wood, Thomas Bromley, or Susan Gasquine. Robert Gough and John Edmonds (spelt Edmans) were both players, who survived Pope many years. We may speculate that they had been his apprentices, and that on this account he singled them out from their fellows in the company. As Pope's will was proved on 13th February, 1603-4, he must have died between that date and the 22d July preceding, when he was "in good and perfect health."

GEORGE BRYAN.

The appearance of the name of George Bryan as that of one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays excites surprise, because we meet with it no where else, excepting in the plat of Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins:" his characters there were far from prominent, being those of Lucius, one of the councillors of Gorboduc, and Lord Warwick in that portion of the piece in which Henry VI. was concerned: in Gorboduc it is not clear that he did not double his part, and sustain that of an unnamed lord also. However, as we have noticed in the memoir of Thomas Pope, Bryan is one of the three performers distinguished by the prefix of "Mr.," and perhaps he was of some importance and standing, though not of any high rank in the company. The date of his connexion with "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" must of course have been anterior to the year 1588.¹

Chalmers had no authority whatever for stating that George Bryan "played the Earl of Warwick in 'Henry the Sixth,' during 1592;"² and he seems to have confounded the play, or plays, of "Henry VI.," as they are printed among Shakespeare's works, with the introduction of that king, attended by the Earl of Warwick, Lidgate, and others, in the performance

¹ Malone (Shaksp. by Boswell, iii., 199) tells us, "Bryan was, I believe, on the stage before the year 1588." How can there be a doubt about it, unless the "Mr. Bryan" of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" were some other than George Bryan, whose name is found in the list in the folio of 1623?

² Suppl. Apol. for the Believers, p. 160.

which Tarlton prepared before his death. Bryan did act the Earl of Warwick in that piece — “to them, Warwick, Mr. Bryan”—but to assert that he was the Earl of Warwick in the historical play, in 1592, is merely gratuitous: we have no means of knowing who was the representative of the Earl of Warwick, when “Henry VI.” was acted either in 1592, or at any other period, but probably an actor of more prominence than Bryan seems ever to have attained.

Neither had Chalmers evidence to sustain his assertion that Bryan was “certainly dead” in 1598, and that “he did not live long enough to represent any part in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour*.” The author of that comedy only enumerates ten players as “the principal comedians” in it, and Bryan is unquestionably not one of them; but there were sixteen characters in the play, and Bryan may have had an inferior part, not calling for the specification of him as one of “the principal comedians” in it. The truth is that we are ignorant when or where Bryan died; but there is good reason to believe that he was living in the spring of 1600, for we read the following entry in the register of baptisms at St. Andrew’s, Blackfriars, which most likely applies to our actor:—

George, sonne to George Bryan. 17 Feb. 1599.¹

This is a source of information Malone and Chalmers never consulted; and although we find no other trace of him there, it makes it likely that he lived in the liberty in which the theatre was situated, and that he was not then an old man.

Chalmers sought in vain for Bryan’s will in the Prerogative Office, and we have not been more successful: he does not occur, as a legatee or otherwise, in any of the testamentary documents of his companions of the stage.

It is to be presumed, perhaps, that he belonged, after the

¹ The name of Bryan, sometimes spelt Bryant, is not unfrequent in the registers both of St. Andrew’s and St. Anne’s, Blackfriars, but this is the only instance in which *George Bryan* is mentioned.

death of Tarlton, and to the end of his career, to the association known as the Lord Chamberlain's players, and we are therefore not surprised at not meeting with his name in Henslowe's "Diary." The Bryant spoken of in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn"¹ was merely a travelling bearward, in the employ of the Deputy Master of the king's games. The difference in the mode of spelling the name, in the lax orthography of those times, would present no difficulty, if other circumstances concurred to induce a belief that it was the same man.

As in this memoir we have had occasion to quote, for the first time, the registers of St. Anne, Blackfriars, we may introduce from them a remarkable memorandum relating to a person whose name has hitherto only been known because it is placed at the end of one of our most ancient printed plays, "The Three Ladies of London," originally published in 1584, and again in 1592: it there stands, "Finis. Paule Bucke," but on the title-page it is stated that the drama was "written by R. W." *forsan* Robert Wilson. Theatrical antiquaries have not been able to understand, therefore, how Paul Buck was concerned in it, but we can now prove that he was an actor, and most likely he made and signed the transcript from which the play was printed. In the registers of St. Anne's we read, among the burials:—

Paull, soon to Paull Bucke, bastard of a player. 2 July. 1599.

There was a natural horror of players in the puritanical district of the Blackfriars, and this entry was intended as a reproach upon the profession. Paul Buck figures in several other parts of the same register.

¹ Page 84, under the date of the year 1608.

HENRY CONDELL.

All that we positively know of Henry Condell,¹ in connection with the stage, is included in less than thirty years, viz., between 1598, when he was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour," and 1627, when he died.

This observation will appear new and strange to those who have been accustomed to rely on the authority of Steevens, Malone, and Chalmers, in such matters, because they have carried back the history of Condell at least ten years earlier. Steevens found the Christian name of Harry, as that of one of the performers in Tarlton's plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," and at once set it down that "Harry" meant Henry Condell—"Harry, i. e., Condell."² If such were the case (and we are, of course, not prepared to deny its possibility), Condell's character was that of Ferrex, the eldest son of King Gorboduc; but Harry was a very common Christian name, and it must have been borne by various performers besides Condell. It is, therefore, a mere conjecture that "Harry" was Henry Condell: nevertheless, Chalmers adopted it as an ascertained fact, and asserted without qualification, that "Condell represented Ferrex in Tarlton's plat of 'The Seven Deadly Sins' before 1589."³

¹ The received orthography of the name seems to have been Condell, and so it is printed at the end of the dedication, and in the list of "principal actors" of the folio of 1623: elsewhere we meet with it spelt Cundall (as it stands in the will), Condle, Cundell, and Condall.

² Malone's *Shakspeare* by Boswell, iii., 356.

³ "Apology for the Believers," p. 438. As our readers are aware, the correct title of the piece is "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly

Whether Condell did or did not belong in 1587 to the company to which Shakespeare was attached; it is certain that his name is not included in the lists of players at the Blackfriars in that year, nor at the Globe in 1596. He had a character in Ben Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour" in 1598, and that, as already remarked, is the first we hear of him. If our conjecture be worth anything, he was the Captain Bobadill of that comedy, and consequently a performer upon whose talents as a comedian much reliance could be placed:¹ hence Sins;" and it is necessary to note the difference, because "The Seven Deadly Sins," constituting *the first part* of the same performance, has not come down to us.

¹ As has been frequently stated, the names of the parts they filled are not inserted opposite the names of the performers, so that we can only speculate as to the character each actor sustained. Having so long made the subject our study, and having obtained some little insight into the peculiar qualifications of the representatives of the personages in "Every Man in his Humour," we may, perhaps, be allowed to subjoin our notions (which of course are merely conjectural) upon the point. At the end of Ben Jonson's edition of the comedy, in 1616, the names of the ten "principal comedians" are placed in double columns, but we have arranged them in one column, probably according to the order intended by the author.

Kno'well	Will. Shakespeare.
Kitely	Ric. Burbadge.
Brayne-worm	Aug. Philips.
Downe-right	Joh. Hemings.
Cap. Bobadill	Hen. Condell.
Just. Clement	Tho. Pope.
Mr. Stephen	Will. Kempe.
Mr. Matthew	Will. Slye.
Dame Kitely	Chr. Beeston.
Tib	Joh. Duke.

We have spelt the names of the characters and actors precisely as they were given by Ben Jonson, for we have little doubt that he superintended the printing of the folio of his works in 1616.

it may be inferred that he was an actor of experience as well as of ability. We suppose him to have been some years on the stage in 1598, although his name be not mentioned in 1596. In 1599 he was one of the six actors in "Every Man out of his Humour," whose names were selected by Ben Jonson, to be made prominent among the sixteen performers engaged in the representation of that "comical satire."

In the spring of 1599, we obtain the earliest intelligence regarding Condell in his private capacity. When, where, and whom he married, does not appear; but the eldest child, of which we have any tidings, was baptized at the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in Feb., 1598-9: the entry is in this form, not specifying, as was done in some instances, the occupation of the father:—

Baptized, 27 Feb., 1598, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condall.

At this date, and until his death, excepting during a short interval, when perhaps he took a lodging in a more airy neighbourhood, and late in life, when he had also a country-house at Fulham, Condell was a regular inhabitant of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, where Heminge also resided; and it would not surprise us to find that they jointly occupied the same house. The registers, unlike those at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, do not in any case specify the particular abode of the parties. We believe him to have been married in 1597, but not in any parish church in or near London, the registers of which we have had an opportunity of examining: it is most likely that the ceremony took place in the country, and that he brought his wife to reside with him in town, while he pursued his professional avocations.¹ We reject the

¹ Perhaps she was from Norfolk: in his will Condell speaks of a cousin named Gilder, of "New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk," and Gilder may have been his wife's relation, and cousin to Condell by marriage. Possibly he was a Norfolk man himself, but we are without any information as to the place of his birth or bringing up.

notion, founded on the assertion of Roberts, the player, adverted to in our memoir of Heminge, that Condell was also a printer.¹ We have no trace of his having followed any occupation but that of the stage, and in his will he terms himself "gentleman," a rank actors were allowed to assume, and which they were very glad to adopt, in opposition to the puritanical enemies of theatrical performances, who continually taunted them, in the words of the old statutes, with being "rogues and vagabonds."

His daughter Elizabeth, above mentioned, only lived until 11th April after she was born; but on the 4th April, 1601, her loss was supplied by another daughter, baptized Anne, who survived until 16th July, 1610, when she was buried at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Condell's eldest son, Richard (perhaps after Burbage) was christened on 18th April, 1602; but although we meet with no trace of his burial at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, there is little doubt that he died in the lifetime of his father, as he is not mentioned in the will, where the other surviving sons and daughters are named. A second Elizabeth was baptized on 14th April, 1603 (not 1606, as Chalmers gives the date²), but she was buried on 22nd April in the same year. Condell and his wife had no more children until 1606: on 26th October of that year they had a third Elizabeth baptized, who, from being called Elizabeth Finch in her father's will, may be concluded to have married a person of that name, but the union certainly did not take place at the

¹ Roberts also states, but without adducing any authority for his assertion beyond stage-tradition, that Condell was a comic performer. Malone's *Shakspeare* by Boswell, iii., 199. Our old performers were often comedians or tragedians, as suited the drama they were to act, and the company to which they were attached; but, from the plays in which we find the name of Condell most frequently occur as one of the performers, there is some reason to believe that the stage-tradition mentioned by Roberts is well-founded.

² "Apology for the Believers," p. 439.

church where her baptism was recorded. The entry in the registers is in this instance remarkable, because it gives us information upon another point, with which we should otherwise have been unacquainted. It runs as follows:—

Baptized, 26 Oct., 1606, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Condell, Sydeman of the parish."

There can be no doubt that at this date Condell was considered one of the substantial and respectable inhabitants of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; and we learn from his will, that he was the owner of property in the parish. It does not appear from the register, or elsewhere, that he subsequently filled any other office among his fellow-parishioners.

In the mean time James I. had granted his patent, dated in May, 1603, by which he constituted certain players, therein named, his own theatrical servants. In that instrument the name of Henry Condell stands sixth, following those of L. Fletcher, Shakespeare, Burbadge, Phillips, and Heminge, and preceding those of Sly, Armin, and Cowley: unless we suppose "Harry," in "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," to have meant Condell, the three last were decidedly older actors than he was, and the situation he fills in the patent may afford some testimony of his rank in the company, and of his talents in the profession.

Soon after the concession of this authority, the King's players, as they were thenceforward called, seem to have taken some new recruits into the association; and we for the first time hear of two players of the names of Hostler (or Ostler) and Day as belonging to it.¹ On an official paper, preserved at Dulwich College, dated 9th April, 1604, we find a list of the company indorsed: it was made merely as a memorandum, and could not have been written anterior to the date of the

¹ Hostler and Day may have belonged to the company in May, 1603, their names not having been specified in the patent. Day was an actor in "Cynthia's Revels," in 1600, and Ostler in "the Poetaster," in 1601.

document, and there we find the name of Condell preceding those of Heminge, Armyn, Sly, Cowley, Hostler, and Day, and succeeding those of Burbadge, Shakespeare, L. Fletcher, and Phillips.¹ We are therefore entitled, as far as this arrangement of names goes, to consider Condell at least of equal importance to Heminge in the company.

There were several coincidences in the lives of Heminge and Condell: they married about the same time; they lived in the same parish; they had each a numerous family registered at the same church; their names are generally next to each other in the patents and lists of actors at the Globe and Blackfriars; and they were ultimately associated in the great undertaking of collecting the materials for the first folio of the works of Shakespeare. As they were joint-editors in the pious labour towards their "friend and fellow," they will be joint partakers of the gratitude of posterity for the able performance of their self-imposed duty.

Condell had ceased to be "sideman of the parish" when his next child was baptized, Mary, at his parish church, on the 30th January, 1607-8. Chalmers supposed that she outlived her father, because he did not find the record of her burial in St. Mary, Aldermanbury: if, however, he had looked at all carefully at the registers of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, he would have found that she was interred there in less than three months after she was born. We give the entry just as it stands, for a reason that is apparent on the face of it:—

1607. Marye Condell, the daughter of Henry Condell, was buried the xviiiith of March.—Hoxton.

The 18th March, 1607, was, of course, the 18th March, 1608, according to our present reckoning; and "Hoxton," at the end of the entry, shows the place from which the body was brought: our conjecture is, that Condell had taken a lodging there, for the sake of change of air for his wife and

¹ "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 68.

child, but without having been able to preserve the life of the latter. That he had no settled residence at Hoxton is quite clear, because his infant daughter Mary is the only member of his family mentioned in the parish records of St. Leonard's.

What might be the amount of property Condell had acquired at this date we have no means of ascertaining, beyond the fact that he and Heminge were the proprietors of precisely the same interest in the receipts of the Blackfriars theatre: they had each two shares out of twenty, into which the profits of the concern seem to have been divided about the year 1608.¹ Malone was of opinion, that Condell "was the owner of a considerable portion of the shares or property" of the Globe and Blackfriars, and if he meant that Condell was a large sharer in those undertakings, he was, doubtless, correct; but Condell would not, in his will, have talked of his "*leases, and terms of years, of messuages, houses and places, situate in the Blackfriars and at the Bankside,*" if he had been one of the owners of the freehold of either theatre: besides, we are quite sure that he was not, as far as regards the Blackfriars; and elsewhere in his will he very carefully and accurately distinguishes between the kinds of property. Two shares out of twenty, in a theatre where, most probably, the company was numerous, was a large proportion for one actor; but what was the amount of his interest in the Globe can only be matter of speculation, until we obtain sources of intelligence of which we are not yet in possession.

It is to be observed that, although we so often meet with the names of Heminge and Condell in conjunction elsewhere, they are never coupled in the various warrants of payment for performances at court. In the series between 1603 and 1618, it does not appear that they ever waited upon the Lord Chamberlain together, for the purpose of receiving the money;²

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, i., p. ccxx.

² See Mr. Cunningham's Revels' Accounts, Introd., p. xxxiv. et seq.

neither do we ever meet with the name of Condell, as that of the sole person to whom the warrant was made out. Hence we may perhaps conclude that, as far as regarded performances before the king, Condell was never recognized by persons in authority as one of the ostensible leaders of his majesty's players. Nevertheless, all existing evidence establishes that, during the whole period to which these warrants apply, he was actively engaged in his theatrical duties, and we meet with his name as one of the principal performers of Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," in 1603; of his "Volpone," in 1605; of his "Alchemist," in 1610; and of his "Catiline," in 1611. These are the only dramas of that precise date, acted by his majesty's players, to which the names of the performers are appended.

He did not increase his family between January, 1607-8, and May, 1610; but on the 6th of the latter month a son Henry was christened at the parish church, who outlived his father, and is therefore mentioned in his will, but who was buried on the 4th March, 1629. Another son, who also survived his father, was baptized William at St. Mary's, on the 26th May, 1611. There is an entry likewise of the baptism of a son Edward on 22nd August, 1614, but the infant was buried the day afterwards. Thus Condell and his wife, out of nine children born since 1598, had only three living in 1614, viz., Henry, William, and Elizabeth; and, as far as can be ascertained, they did not add to the number afterwards.

Condell played in most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher brought out before the death of Burbadge: indeed, his name, with that of Burbadge and others, is appended to several of them, such as "The Captain," "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "Valentinian," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Loyal Subject," "The Mad Lover,"¹ &c. He was the

¹ The precise years in which these dramas were brought out cannot now be ascertained with any degree of precision: nearly all we certainly

representative also of the Humorous Lieutenant, and another of his ascertained characters was the Cardinal, in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," when it was originally produced; but before it was printed, in 1623, he had relinquished the part to R. Robinson. This is precisely the year in which the first folio of Shakespeare bears date, and Condell's resignation of the part of the Cardinal, about the same period, is one of our reasons for thinking that he had then, at least partially, retired from the active and acting duties of the profession.

He was, however, in full employment as a member of the company in 1619, when James I. granted to his players a confirmation of the patent of 1603. Burbadge was then just dead, but his name, as explained in our memoir of him, is found notwithstanding in the instrument. Heminge is placed at the head of the association in the list of its members, followed by Burbadge, and after Burbadge comes Condell, followed by Lowin and eight others. That some consideration is due to these locations of the names of actors is quite evident, but it is difficult in any instance to say how much. This document was unknown to Malone and Chalmers, so that they had no assistance from it in the brief sketches they gave of the lives of the actors in Shakespeare's plays. Richard Burbadge being dead at the date of this confirmation, Condell's name may be said to stand second in the enumeration of actors it contains, and such was its actual position in 1625, when Charles I., on coming to the throne, issued a fresh patent to his players. The names of Heminge and Condell are there followed by those of Lowin, Taylor, Robinson, and eight, as we apprehend, inferior performers.

Condell would hardly have resigned such a character as the know regarding them is that they were acted before the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619. As to a few, the deaths of other actors may afford a clue to their first production. The only dramatist of the time, who has fixed the dates when his plays were originally brought out, is Ben Jonson.

Cardinal in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," shortly prior to 1623, if he had not given up other parts to different theatrical successors about the same time. In 1625 we find him residing at Fulham, at "his country house;" and it may be doubted whether, having first taken up his abode there only temporarily, to escape the infection of the plague prevailing in London to a most fatal extent, he did not afterwards continue his residence at Fulham, in addition to the house he permanently held in Aldermanbury. It is not at all unlikely that, his presence at the Globe and Blackfriars not being so frequently required in 1625, as it had been while he continued a performer in most of the plays represented, he rented a cottage at Fulham, to which at intervals he retired. It does not, however, seem by his will that he left any property there, and we may conclude that the house was not his own, but that he removed his wife and family to it, going himself to London only when called there by business.

It is very certain that until the last hour of his life his connexion with the stage was never terminated, but all the theatres were closed in the summer and autumn of 1625, the deaths in and near London being extremely numerous: the plague was so destructive in Aldermanbury, that it carried off the clergyman and hundreds of his parishioners, and there is a curious note in the register, stating that no correct account of the number or dates of the burials could be obtained: the consequence was that a long list of them was irregularly inserted, acknowledged by the person who made it to be very defective. During such calamitous visitations, most of the players quitted London, with a double motive—to avoid the disorder, and to obtain subsistence by acting in the country. Thomas Dekker seems never to have played, but to have been merely a dramatist: he was always poor, and perhaps could not afford to remove himself and his family from the metropolis: at all events, in 1625 he published a pamphlet, in which he reproached and lashed all parties who had made their escape

from the infection. He called it "A Rod for Run-aways,"¹ and it is one of the scarcest of this voluminous author's productions on ephemeral topics: it was replied to by certain players, and other parties apparently connected with theatres (who only give their initials, which perhaps were never meant to be appropriated) in a tract entitled "The Run-away's Answer to a Book called A Rod for Run-aways,"² which is thus dedicated—

To our much respected and very worthy friend, Mr. H. Condell,
at his country-house at Fulham.

It shows the good terms upon which Condell lived with his associates, and with what proofs of kindness they separated, when the latter, after having been hospitably entertained by Condell, went into the provinces. It is in these terms—

At our parting from London, to undertake our sad peregrination into the countrey, amongst our friends, (who are hard to be found) it pleased you to bestow upon us a free and noble farewell. We remember it with

¹ The full title of the only copy we ever saw is this: "A Rod for Run-awayes. God's Tokens of his feareful Judgements, sundry wayes pronounced upon this city, and on severall persons, both flying from it and staying in it, &c. By Tho. D. Printed at London for John Trundle, &c. 1625." Trundle was a notorious printer of ballads and temporary tracts, who has been immortalized by Ben Jonson in his "Every Man in his Humour." He lived and carried on business in the parish (St. Giles, Cripplegate) in which Ben Jonson was married for the second time; and the registers prove, that John Trundle married Margery Parton on 4th September, 1595. In due time afterwards, Elizabeth, "the daughter of John Trundle, printer," was baptized at the same church.

² The title may be worth subjoining:—"The Run-awayes Answer to a Booke called A Rodde for Runne-awayes. In which are set downe a Defence of their Running, with some Reasons perswading some of them never to come backe, &c. Printed MDCXXV." Neither Malone nor Chalmers was aware of the existence of these tracts.

thanks, which cuts off the sinne of ingratitude; yet because thanks is but one word, and that your love cannot receive a requitall but in many, we send you a little bundle of papers, full. For being abused in a booke, printed at London, in which we were called Runne-awayes, wee in this our defence request you to be an arbiter, to judge whether we have not just cause to stand upon our guard in so ignoble an opposition. You are nearer to London then wee, by many miles, and therefore intreat you to publish, to so many friends of ours as you know, this our entring the lists in so brave a point of honour. Thus, wishing all happinesse to you, and a continuation of health, we rest,

Your most loving friends,

From Oxford and elsewhere,
September 10, 1625.

B. V.
S. O.
T. O.
A. L.
V. S.

The players were at this time strolling about the country, and picking up a very precarious and scanty subsistence. "Would it were once come," they exclaim, "that we might have a full audience!" and farther on they make reference to their days of prosperity, when performing at the theatres in London.¹ There is no printer's nor stationer's name to the tract, but perhaps we are entitled to presume that Condell procured it to be published: we find no other indication of his connection with it, and it throws no light upon his conduct and character, beyond proving that he gave the players "a free and noble farewell" before they went into the provinces, and that they resorted to him for a means of vindication while they were absent.

¹ There is a passage in this tract, with reference to the performances of English actors abroad, showing (in accordance with other authorities) that some of them went to play on the continent, when they were prevented from performing in the metropolis: "We can be bankrupts (they say) on this side, and gentlemen of a company beyond the sea: we burst at London, and are pieced up at Rotterdam."

We have no data upon which we can calculate his age at this period, but that he was certainly married before February, 1598-9: supposing him then to have been five and twenty, he was not fifty when he quitted the profession as an actor, although he kept up his intimate connexion with the stage for four or five years afterwards. His interest in the two theatres, in the Blackfriars and on the Bankside, would doubtless induce him still to watch over those undertakings; but, as before remarked, the last we hear of him as a member of the company of the King's players is in 1625, when Charles I., on succeeding to the throne, renewed the patent first granted by his father in 1603, and confirmed in 1619. In the spring of 1625, on the death of John Underwood, (a member of the same association) Condell acted as executor to his will, while Heminge and Lowin were appointed overseers of its performance. At the time of Condell's decease, two years afterwards, he had not discharged all the obligations of the trust, and left them, with a solemn injunction, to be fulfilled by his widow.

He died at the close of 1627, having been buried on the 29th December of that year: the following is the brief memorial of the event in the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—

Buried. Mr. Condall. December 29. 1627.

His will, dated 13th December, was made at Fulham, when he was "sick in body, but of perfect mind;" and as he directed that he should be interred "in the night time in such parish where it shall please God to call me," we conclude that he was brought to his house in London before his decease. His eldest son, Henry, was intended for one of the Universities, and an annuity of £30 was set apart for his maintenance there: his son William was apprenticed, probably to a grocer of the name of Peter Saunderson, one of the four overseers of Condell's will; and another of the overseers was Herbert Finch, who had married Elizabeth Condell: the two remaining overseers were John Heminge (who was possibly Saunderson's

partner as a grocer) and Cuthbert Burbadge. The testator died possessed of considerable property, besides his shares in the two theatres occupied by the King's players; but as it is described in the will, which we subjoin, it is not necessary particularly to mention it here: he left his widow "full and sole executrix."

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry Cundall, of London, gentleman, being sick in body, but of perfect mind and memory, laud and praise be therefore given to Almighty God, calling to my remembrance that there is nothing in this world more sure and certain to mankind than death, and nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament in manner and form following; that is to say: first, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God, trusting and assuredly believing that only by the merits of the precious death and passion of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtain full and free pardon and remission of all my sins, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of heaven amongst the elect children of God. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried in the night-time, in such parish where it shall please God to call me. My worldly substance I dispose of as followeth. And first concerning all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, whereof I am and stand seized of any manner of estate of inheritance, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth.

Imprimis, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in Helmettcourt in the Strand, and elsewhere, in the county of Middlesex, unto Elizabeth, my well beloved wife, for and during the term of her natural life; and from and immediately after her decease, unto my son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for want of such issue, unto my son, William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten; and for default of such issue, unto my daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all and singular my freehold messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and

every of their appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the parish of St. Bride, alias Bridgett, near Fleet Street, London, and elsewhere in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, unto my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to her assigns, untill my said son, William Cundall, his term of apprenticeship shall be fully expired by effluxion of time; and from and immediately after the said term of apprenticeship shall be so fully expired, I give, devise, and bequeath the said messuages and premises, situate in the city of London and the suburbs thereof, unto my said son, William Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue unto my said son, Henry Cundall, and to the heirs of his body lawfully to be begotten, and for default of such issue, unto my said daughter, Elizabeth Finch, and to her heirs and assigns for ever. And as concerning all and singular my goods, chattels, plate, household stuff, ready money, debts, and personal estate, whatsoever and wheresoever, I give, devise, and bequeath the same as followeth; viz.:

Imprimis, whereas I am executor of the last will and testament of John Underwood, deceased, and by force of the same executorship became possessed of so much of the personal estate of the said John Underwood, which is expressed in an inventory thereof made, and by me exhibited in due form of law unto the ecclesiastical court. And whereas also, in discharge of my said executorship, I have from time to time disbursed divers sums of money in the education and bringing up of the children of the said John Underwood, deceased, as by my accompts kept in that behalf appeareth. Now, in discharge of my conscience, and in full performance of the trust reposed in me by the said John Underwood, I do charge my executrix faithfully to pay to the surviving children of the said John Underwood all and whatsoever shall be found and appear by my accompts to belong unto them, and to deliver unto them all such rings as was their late father's, and which are by me kept by themselves apart in a little casket.

Item, I do make, name, ordain, and appoint my said well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, the full and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, requiring and charging her, as she will answer the contrary before Almighty God at the dreadful day of judgement, that she will truly and faithfully perform the same, in and by all things according to my true intent and meaning; and I do earnestly desire my very

loving friends, John Heminge, gentleman, Cuthbert Burbage, gentleman, my son-in-law, Herbert Finch, and Peter Saunderson, grocer, to be my overseers, and to be aiding and assisting unto my said executrix in the due execution and performance of this my last will and testament. And I give and bequeath to every of my said four overseers the sum of five pounds apiece, to buy each of them a piece of plate.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said son, William Cundall, all the clear yearly rents and profits, which shall arise and come from the time of my decease, of and by my leases and terms of years, of all my messuages, houses, and places, situate in the Blackfriars, London, and at the Bankside in the county of Surry, until such time as that the full sum of three hundred pounds by those rents and profits may be raised for a stock for my said son William, if he shall so long live.

Item, for as much as I have by this my will dealt very bountifully with my well beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, considering my estate, I do give and bequeath unto my son, Henry Cundall, for his maintenance, either at the university or elsewhere, one annuity or yearly sum of thirty pounds of lawful money of England, to be paid unto my said son, Henry Cundall, or his assigns, during all the term of the natural life of the said Elizabeth my wife, if my said son Henry Cundall shall so long live, at the four most usual feast-days or terms in the year; that is to say, at the feasts of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, Nativity of St. John Baptist, and St. Michael the archangel, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days, by even and equal portions: the first payment thereof to begin and to be made at such of the said feast-days as shall first and next happen after the day of my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast-day.

Item, I give and bequeath unto widow Martin and widow Gimber, to each of them respectively, for and during all the terms of their natural lives severally, if my leases and terms of years of and in my houses in Aldermanbury, in London, shall so long continue unexpired, one annuity, or yearly sum of twenty shillings apiece, of lawful money of England, to be paid unto them severally, by even portions quarterly, at the feast days above mentioned, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after every of the same feast-days; the first payment of them severally to begin and to be made at such of the said

feasts as shall first and next happen after my decease, or within the space of twenty and eight days next ensuing after the same feast.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto the poor people of the parish of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, where I now dwell, the sum of five pounds, to be paid to master Doctor Clewett and master Edmond Powell, of Fulham, gentleman, and by them to be distributed.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall, and to my said well-beloved daughter, Elizabeth Finch, all my household stuff, bedding, linen, brass and pewter, whatsoever, remaining and being as well at my house in Fulham aforesaid, as also in my house in Aldermanbury, in London, to be equally divided between them, part and part alike: and for the more equal dealing in that behalf, I will, appoint, and request my said overseers, or the greater number of them, to make division thereof, and then my wife to have the preferment of the choice.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my cousin, Frances Gurney, alias Hulse, my aunt's daughter, the sum of five pounds; and I give unto the daughter of the said Frances the like sum of five pounds.

Item, I give, devise and bequeath unto such and so many of the daughters of my cousin Gilder, late of New Buckenham, in the county of Norfolk, deceased, as shall be living at the time of my decease, the sum of five pounds apiece.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my old servant, Elizabeth Wheaton, a mourning gown, and forty shillings in money, and that place or privilege which she now exerciseth and enjoyeth in the houses of the Blackfryers, London, and the Globe on the Bankside, for and during all the term of her natural life, if my estate shall so long continue in the premises; and I give unto the daughter of the said Elizabeth Wheaton the sum of five pounds, to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Wheaton, for the use of her said daughter, within the space of one year next after my decease.

And I do hereby will, appoint and declare, that an acquittance under the hand and seal of the said Elizabeth Wheaton, upon the receipt of the said legacy of five pounds, for the use of her said daughter, shall be, and shall be deemed, adjudged, construed, and taken to be, both in law and in equity, unto my executrix, a sufficient release and discharge for and concerning the payment of the same.

Item, I give, devise, and bequeath all the rest and residue of my goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate whatsoever, and wheresoever (after my debts shall be paid, and my funeral charges, and all other charges about the execution of this my will, first, paid and discharged), unto my said well-beloved wife, Elizabeth Cundall.

Item, my will and mind is, and I do hereby desire and appoint, that all such legacies, gifts and bequests, as I have by this my will given, devised, or bequeathed unto any person or persons, for payment whereof no certain time is hereby before limited or appointed, shall be well and truly paid by my executrix within the space of one year next after my decease.

Finally, I do hereby revoke, countermand, and make void all former wills, testaments, codicils, executors, legacies and bequests whatsoever, by me at any time heretofore named, made, given, or appointed; willing and minding that these presents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

In witness whereof I, the said Henry Cundall, the testator to this my present last will and testament, being written on nine sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheet, have set my seal, the thirteenth day of December, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

HENRY CUNDALL.

Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared, by the said Henry Cundall, the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and year above written, in the presence of us, whose names are hereunder written:—

ROBERT YONGE.

HUM. DYSON, Notary Publique.

And of me, RO. DICKENS, servant
unto the said Notary.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum apud London coram magistro Richardo Zouche, Legum Doctore, Surrogato, 24^o die Februarii, 1627, juramento Elizabethæ Cundall, relictæ dicti defuncti et executr., cui, &c., de bene, &c., jurat.

It deserves remark, that Humphrey Dyson, the notary who drew the preceding will, and who subscribes it as one of

the witnesses, was a very curious collector of plays, tracts and broadsides, and not a few have come down to us with his name upon them. In 1618 he published, in folio, "A Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth."

One important fact connected with the life of Henry Condell was entirely omitted by Malone and Chalmers: we refer to the death of his widow. Malone looked over the register of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, very carelessly; and Chalmers, who corrected Malone's errors (adding, however, some of his own), did not take the trouble to turn over the leaves as far as the year 1635, or he would there have met with the subsequent entry:—

Mrs. Cundell was buried, 3 of October, 1635.

Her son Henry, as we have already stated, had died in March, 1629-30; but her son William, the grocer, seems to have been living at the death of his mother, and we have not been able to find in the records of the parish any notice of Elizabeth Finch or her husband.

WILLIAM SLY.

Sly, or Slye, sometimes written Slie, and Slee, was unquestionably a name very common in Warwickshire,¹ and it is not at all unlikely that our actor migrated from that part of the country about the time that Shakespeare joined a theatrical association in London. Sly is the name given to the drunkard in the Induction to the old "Taming of a Shrew," 1594,² as well as to our great dramatist's "Taming of the Shrew," and in the latter he is represented as a Warwickshireman, who refers to persons and places in that county. It is, however, to be observed that Slee, or Sly, is a very old name in connexion with dramatic performances in this country: John Slee, or Sly, was one of the players of Henry VIII., subsequently dismissed by Protector Somerset,³ and from him William Sly, the actor in Shakespeare's dramas, may have been descended. Persons of the name of Sly also were weavers in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and we shall see presently, that our actor had some connexion with that parish, not of the most creditable description. There were Slyes, likewise, in Southwark, Shoreditch, and Aldermanbury;⁴ so that it is

¹ Collier's Shakespeare, i., ci.

² See the Shakespeare Society's reprint of this unique edition in the library of the Duke of Devonshire. It was superintended through the press by Mr. Amyot.

³ Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, i., 118, 139.

⁴ In the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, at about this period, we find mention in the registers of John Slye, Mary Slye, Albone Slye, Robert Slye, Philip Slye, and Thomas Slye, but of no William Slye. At St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, we find Mrs. Slye buried on 30th May, 1592, and Mr. Slye, on 27th October, 1593.

not at all possible to determine from whence the family of William Sly came, and we have no where been able to discover the registration of his birth.

We can trace his residence in the parish of St. Saviour's, in the neighbourhood of the theatres on the Bankside, at an early date, by means of the token-books preserved in the vestry. In the year 1588 he resided in Norman's Rents, and "the widow Slye,"¹ perhaps his mother, lived near Philip Henslowe, the old manager, "at the east end of the Bankside." In 1593, William Slye had removed to Horseshoe Court, where, and at the same date, the following actors were also domiciled—Augustine Phillips, Richard Jones, and Thomas Dowton, or Downton. In 1595, after the building of the Globe, Sly had removed to Rose Alley, immediately contiguous to Henslowe's playhouse, and he continued there in 1596, but how long afterwards, we know not.

Like various other players, we hear of Sly, for the first time in his quality of an actor, before the year 1588, as the supporter of a character in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins." When Chalmers² asserts that he played Porrex in that piece, he is probably in error, for Sly's part seems, as far as we can judge, to have been Dordan, an attendant upon Porrex: "Enter Porrex, sad, with Dordan, his man. R. P. W. Sly." The letters R. P. were the initials of Robert Pallant, whose name is inserted at length earlier in the plat, or sketch of the conduct of the performance, and who seems to have been the Porrex of the scene; but this is by no means certain, on account of the confused and brief manner in which the names of the actors are inserted, and from another part of the representation it may possibly be collected that Sly had the part of Porrex. This, however, is a

¹ A William Slye, waterman, was resident on the Bankside in 1584, but we meet with no account of his burial: he might be the father of our actor.

² *Apology for the Believers, &c.*, p. 440.

matter of little importance ; and whether Sly were Porrex or Dordan, it is very clear that he was an actor in the drama in or before the year 1588. At this period, as we have stated, he lived in Norman's Rents, in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.

There is reason to believe that he was an actor under Henslowe in 1594, for we find the old manager dealing with him as one of his company : in his "Diary," an account between him and Sly occurs, with the following heading :—

Sowld unto William Sley, the 11 of octobr, 1594, a Jewell of gowld, seat with a whitte safer, for viijs, to be payd after xij^d a weacke, as followeth." (p. 66.)

To this succeed the memoranda of periodical payments ; but, according to them, Sly never gave Henslowe more than six shillings and sixpence for the "jewel of gold set with a white sapphire ;" and instead of letting the old pawn-broking manager have twelve pence a week, as agreed upon, the payments were irregular, and for the first five weeks were only two shillings and sixpence in the whole.¹

This fact would tend to prove that Sly was then by no means in affluent circumstances ; but, nevertheless, two years afterwards we hear of him as a member of the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and standing forward among the Lord Chamberlain's players (acting at the Globe in the summer, and at the Blackfriars in the winter) as if he were a man

¹ There is another mention of Sly, not indeed in Henslowe's "Diary," but in documents formerly at Dulwich College, and fortunately printed by Malone, as they are now lost, by which it appears that Sly had played Pero, or Pierro, in some drama on Henslowe's stage. In the Appendix to Henslowe's "Diary," published by the Shakespeare Society, p. 275, we read the following in an inventory dated 13 March, 1598—

"Item, Perowes sewt, which W^m Sley were."

Henslowe meant "were," as the past tense *wore*, referring not to the year 1598, when Sly was not a member of his company, but to some former period, when he wore the suit as Pero.

of some importance, if not of substance, in connexion with the stage. In 1596, Sly was one of the petitioners to the Privy Council for permission to repair and enlarge the latter theatre, his name being last but one (that of Nicholas Tooley follows it) in a list of eight "owners and players." He continued a member of the same association in the spring of 1603; and, in the patent then granted by James I. to his players, Sly's name precedes those of Armyn and Cowley, following those of six other performers, among whom Tooley was not included.

We have already spoken (p. 26) of Sly's appearance in Marston's play, "The Malcontent," twice printed in 1604. The first impression does not inform us by what company it was originally acted, but both the author and Webster made additions to it before it was again printed, and then it was represented by "the King's Majesty's servants." In the Induction, (whether by Marston or Webster is not decisively ascertained) Sly, Sinklow, Burbadge, Condell, and Lowin, are introduced by their names, but the two first were dressed as characters, and the three last came before the audience merely as players:—

Enter W. Sly, a Tireman following him with a stool.

Tireman. Sir, the gentlemen will be angry if you sit there.

Sly. Why, we may sit on the stage at the private house. Thou dost not take me for a country-gentleman, dost? Dost think I fear hissing? I'll hold my life thou tookest me for one of the players.

Tireman. No, sir.

Sly. By God's lid, if you had, I would have given you but sixpence for your stool."

It was the custom for gallants to sit upon stools on the stage at private theatres like the Blackfriars, where this comedy was represented, for which the ordinary price was sixpence, in addition to the entrance money. Sinklow just afterwards makes his appearance as Sly's cousin, son to a usurer of the name of Doomsday, and they are joined by Burbadge, Condell,

and Lowin, in their plain clothes, and in their capacity of players. Condell begs Sly to put on his hat; to which he replies, "No, in good faith, for mine ease," a not uncommon colloquial expression of the time; but as it is used by Osrick in "Hamlet" (act v., sc. 2), Malone inferred that Sly had been the performer of that part:¹ Shakespeare's words are, indeed, very nearly identical with those in "The Malcontent" put into Sly's mouth, "Nay, in good faith, for mine ease: in good faith;" and the conjecture is at least plausible, because Sly's character in this Induction is not dissimilar to that of Osrick. Afterwards, Sly carefully takes the feather out of his hat, and puts it into his pocket, in order that he may not expose himself to the ridicule of the spectators; and after some discussion, as to the nature of the play and the "additions," and why it was now acted by the King's players, after it had been brought out by some rival company, the actors retire to dress for the scene, and the comedy begins.

We have adverted thus particularly to the Induction to "The Malcontent," because it may serve to show the sort of characters Sly was usually employed to represent. There is no reason for supposing that he acted the drunkard in the Induction to Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew" beyond the coincidence of the name; but we are sure that he played in "Every Man in his Humour" in 1598, in "Every Man out of his Humour" in 1599, in "Sejanus" in 1603, and in "Volpone" in 1605. It is very probable that he was related to the Thomas Sly, who accompanied Kemp in his Morris-dance to Norwich in 1599 or 1600, and played upon the pipe and tabor during that merry and eccentric journey; and, as already observed (p. 151), there was a Thomas Sly resident at that date among the actors in Shoreditch. What characters William Sly had in Ben Jonson's plays, above enumerated, must be matter of speculation, founded mainly upon our ac-

¹ Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 206.

quaintance with his part in "The Malcontent," which serves also to show that he was Osrick in "Hamlet."

Considering what we know of Sly, we are rather surprised to find him, on 4th May, 1605, appointed one of the overseers (and ultimately executors) of the will of Augustine Phillips, his coadjutors being John Heminge, Richard Burbadge, and Timothy Whithorne. He was, probably, never married: we can discover no marriage of a William Sly, at about the period, in any of the parish registers we have consulted; but we find that in 1606 he had a natural son which was named John, but which lived only a few days. Chalmers met with the registration of its burial at St. Giles, Cripplegate; but he failed to point out the entry of its baptism in the same records, although the two memoranda are inserted near each other: they run thus, and the first, it will be seen, gives the name of the mother:—

Christened: John, sonne of William Sley (player), base-borne on the body of Margaret Chambers, 24 Sept., 1606.

Buried: John, sonne of William Sly, player, (base) 4 Oct., 1606.

It is evident that Margaret Chambers, who brought the infant into the world, lived in the parish of St. Giles, in Cripplegate, or it would not have been baptized there; but at this date Sly had left the Bankside, where he was living up to 1596, and resided among the actors in Shoreditch, where we suppose others of his family to have dwelt, as several persons of the name, besides Thomas Sly, the taborer, occur in the registers of St. Leonard's. There Sly himself was buried in less than two years after the death of his natural son, and he was registered as "gentleman," and not as "player," which was the more usual designation:—

1608. William Sleye, gent., was buried the same day [16 August].

Malone only knew, from Heywood's "Apology for Actors," that Sly was dead in 1612, when that tract was published; but the entry of his burial has since been discovered, and Chalmers saw

his nuncupative will in the Prerogative Office, both of which prove the year in which he was lost to the stage. His will bears date on the 4th August, twelve days before he was buried in the cemetery of St. Leonard's, and it was proved on the 24th August. Chalmers informs us that it was ineffectually resisted by a William Sly, who claimed as next of kin; and looking at the document, without signature by any of the witnesses, and presenting other suspicious appearances, it seems extraordinary that its validity should have been established. Sly does not mention a single relation in it, but bequeaths his whole property to persons who, as far as we know, were strangers:—"To Jane Browne, the daughter of Robert Browne, and Sisely his wife, the house where he now dwells, to her, &c., for ever; to Robert Browne, his part of the Globe; to James Sandes, forty pounds; the rest to Sisely Browne, making her his executrix."

Such are the precise terms of the main body of the original will, which we have examined, and which looks like anything but an authentic document. Chalmers made a mistake in quoting it, and printed *James Saunder* instead of James Sandes, who, as we have seen (p. 81), had been apprentice to Augustine Phillips; and the error is the more important, because Chalmers founded upon it an attack upon the accuracy of Malone. A codicil was added to the will, perhaps for the purpose of conciliating Cuthbert Burbadge, and giving an appearance of genuineness to the document, bequeathing to him Sly's sword and hat, together with forty shillings to be distributed among the poor of the parish where Sly died.

That Robert Browne, the father of Jane, and husband of Sisely Browne, was an actor, is more than probable, although Chalmers produces, and in fact could produce, no evidence to support his positive assertion of the affirmative. Browne was a common name in connexion with the stage at the period, and the mother of Edward Alleyn married a "haberdasher," who was also an actor, so called. Among "The Alleyn Papers,"

printed by the Shakespeare Society, is a letter from a Robert Browne to the founder of Dulwich College, dated 11th April, 1612, in favour of a player and his wife of the name of Rose ; but this communication Chalmers never saw, and it does not read as if Robert Browne were himself on the stage. It may, nevertheless, have been the very man whose family derived the chief benefit under William Sly's will, and to whom he left " his part of the Globe." These words must, probably, be understood to relate to Sly's interest as a sharer ; but he may have been part-owner of the theatre itself, unless, as we have supposed in our Memoir (p. 17), Richard Burbadge were the sole proprietor of the house.

RICHARD COWLEY.

We learn from the quarto and folio editions of "Much Ado about Nothing" (as stated on p. 89), that Cowley was the performer of the character of Verges, at the same time that Kemp was the representative of Dogberry: the names of the two actors are inserted in the old impressions, instead of those of the parts they sustained. This is the only existing proof of the department of the stage to which Cowley belonged; but we are not warranted thereby in concluding, with Malone and Chalmers, that Cowley "appears to have been an actor of a low class." We have seen comedians of very high reputation, in our day, undertake the character of Verges, and obtain increased fame by the admirable truth and finish of the performance.

Cowley must have played Verges about the year 1599, but he had then been long on the stage: he was an actor in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," which could not have been brought out later than 1588, and perhaps considerably earlier, but it is not possible to settle precisely what were his duties in the piece: his name occurs in nearly all parts of it, but never in such a manner as to enable us to decide what character he sustained. In the first scene we read—

A tent being plast one the stage for Henry the Sixt: he in it asleepe; to him the Lieutenant, a purcevaunt, R. Cowly, Jo. Duke, and 1 Warder, R. Pallant;
and in the last—

Henry speaks to him, Lieutenant, Pursevaunt and Warders, R. Cowly, J. Duke, J. Holland, Joh. Sincler; to them Warwick. Mr. Brian.

Hence we might perhaps gather, from the corresponding

location of the characters and of the actors, that Richard Cowley played Henry the Sixth, but from other parts of the same performance this seems very doubtful; and in some places he appears to have acted merely as one of the soldiers, or to have carried the colours. He probably was "a lord" in that portion of the plot that relates to King Gorboduc and his sons; Giraldus, in the scenes where Sardanapalus figures; and it is not at all clear that he had not a female character in the story of Tereus and Philomele. The only positive facts seem to be, that Richard Cowley was an actor at the time when this drama was got up and represented, and that he was much and variously employed in it.

As he perhaps sustained the part of one of Philomele's attendant ladies, we may reasonably imagine that he was young in 1588: from whence he came we have no hint beyond an entry in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, that a Richard Cowley, who might be his father, were buried on the 10th January, 1587. The name of Cowley was not common in that parish, but it was so in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and there we are certain that our actor lived and died. Malone and Chalmers saw the registers, and found some entries relating to him, but omitted several others, a deficiency we have supplied from a recent examination.

We have every reason to suppose that Cowley was a member of the same company as Edward Alleyn (the Lord Strange's players) in 1593; for in a letter to his wife, during a provincial expedition in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in London, dated 1st August, he mentions Cowley as having joined him at Bristol, and as having been the bearer of a letter from Mrs. Alleyn:—"I received," he says, "your letter at Bristo by Richard Couley, for the which I thank you:"¹ Cowley's business in going to Bristol must have been

¹ "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 26.

to assist Alleyn, and the rest of the association to which he belonged, in their performances in the west of England. A part of Shoreditch was at that time called Alleyn's Rents, possibly the property of Alleyn's family; and there at one period we find Richard Cowley living with his family: his son Cuthbert was baptized from thence on the 8th May, 1597.

This entry of the baptism of Cuthbert Cowley is the earliest entry noticed by Malone and Chalmers; but there is no doubt that Richard Cowley was married before 1595, because in March 1595-6 he had a son, named Robert, christened at St. Leonard's: the memorandum runs as follows:—

1595. March 8. Baptized, Robert Cowlye, the sonne of Richard. Hallywell Street.

This shows also that he had dwelt in Holywell Street before he removed to Alleyn's Rents, but he afterwards returned to his old quarters: he lived in Holywell Street when "—— Cowley, (the Christian name is omitted in the registration, but perhaps it was Robert, born in 1595) the sonne of Richard Cowly," was buried on 20th March, 1597. It was just after this date that we find him in Alleyn's Rents, where he did not long continue: when "Richard Cowlye, the sonne of Richard," was christened on 29th April, 1598, the father's abode is again recorded as in Holywell Street. Presuming that the unnamed son, who died in 1597, was Robert, of whom we do not hear afterwards, Cowley had two sons living in 1598, viz., Cuthbert and Richard: the latter was buried at St. Leonard's on the 26th February, 1602-3; but, as far as existing evidence goes, Cuthbert survived his parents.

Cowley and his wife (we cannot discover when nor whom he married) had also a daughter, of whom Malone and Chalmers take no notice: the entry of her baptism is this:—

1601. Feb. 2. Baptized, Elizabeth Cowlye, the daughter of Richard Cowlye. Halliwell.

She was named, as will be observed presently, after her mother, and they seem to have had no more children.

When Richard Cowley quitted the company of which Alleyn was the leader, and Henslowe the manager, we can give no information: it was some time before 1602, because in March of that year John Heminge and Richard Cowley represented the Lord Chamberlain's servants, when they received £30 as payment for performances at Court. As it appears to be the only extant memorandum of the kind, in which the name of Cowley occurs, we may here quote it:¹—

To John Hemynges and Richard Cowley, scrvauntes to the Lord Chamberleyne, upon the Councells Warrant, dated at Whitehall, 31 March, 1601[2], for three playes showed before her highnes on St. Stephen's day at night, Twelfth day at night, and Shrovetuesday at night xxx^{1b}

This distinction serves to show that Cowley was then a man at least of standing, if not of eminence in the association, which very shortly afterwards, on the accession of James I., obtained the patent as the King's players: among the names included in it, though it comes last, is that of Richard Cowley. In an enumeration of the same company, which must have been drawn up posterior to 9th April, 1604, Cowley has two actors below him, Hostler (or Ostler) and Day, who perhaps had only very recently been taken as recruits into the association.² When Cowley had first attached himself to the Lord Chamberlain's players, it is impossible, as observed above, to decide, but his name is not found to the memorial for the repair and enlargement of the Blackfriars theatre in 1596: it is, however, likely that that document was only presented by the principal persons in the association.

Although Cowley survived for a considerable period after

¹ Extracts from the Revels' Accounts by P. Cunningham, Esq. Introduction, p. xxxiii.

² See p. 136; and Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 68.

the grant of the patent of 1603, and remained on the stage the whole of his life, it is singular that his name does not occur in any list of the actors of the plays of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatists of the time; and but for the accident already explained, we should not have known that he was Verges in "Much Ado about Nothing." His wife died before him, (a fact with which previous biographers were not acquainted) for we find her burial thus registered at St. Leonard's:—

1616. Elizabeth Cowly, the wife of Richard Cowly, was buried the 28 September.—Halliwell Street.

Halliwell Street was therefore still their residence, although Cowley, like Richard Burbadge and some others, during about twenty years of his life, had daily to discharge his theatrical duties at the Blackfriars, or at the Globe on the Bankside.

Chalmers tells us that Cowley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, "on the 13th March, 1618, three days before the great Burbadge finished his career in the same cemetery:" if the 13th March had been the correct date, Cowley would have been interred on the very day Burbadge expired, but the fact is that the burial of Cowley took place, not on the day stated by Chalmers, but on the day before the death of Burbadge,¹ as appears by the subsequent entry in the register:—

1618. Richard Cowly, player, was buried the 12th of March.—Halliwell Street.

No will by Cowley has been discovered in the Prerogative Office after repeated searches, nor does it appear that administration of his effects was granted to any member of his family.

¹ It deserves notice, that although the name of Richard Burbadge (who died on 13th March, 1618-19) is included in the confirmation of the patent of 1603 to the King's players, dated 27th March, 1619, the name of Richard Cowley (who was buried on the day preceding the death of Burbadge) is not found in it.

Whether he died rich or poor can only be decided upon probabilities ; but acting was then a profitable employment, and, as far as we can judge, Cowley, though by no means eminent in the profession, as a regular, careful man, may have accumulated property in the course of the thirty years that he can be traced upon the stage. His son Cuthbert and his daughter Elizabeth most likely survived their parents, (for we meet with no notices of their burial) and amicably divided what he left behind him.

JOHN LOWIN.

This eminent performer,¹ who long survived the suppression of theatrical representations on the breaking out of the civil wars, was the son of Richard Lowin, and was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1576. The following entry is contained in the register, among the baptisms :—

John Lowen, the sone of Richard Lowen. 9 December, 1576.

Malone correctly calculated, from the date upon Lowin's portrait in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, that he was born in that year; but neither he nor Chalmers went to the records we have consulted, or they might have ascertained the time and place with precision. From other entries it appears that Richard Lowin, the father of our actor, was a carpenter; but there was another carpenter of the name of John Lowin in the same neighbourhood, and he may have been the brother of Richard Lowin, and the person after whom John Lowin, the actor, was baptized. We have not been able to discover any entry of the marriage of Richard Lowin, but it

¹ His name is spelt in four different ways: it is Lowine in the list preceding the folio of 1623; Lowen in the register of his birth, and in two of the entries in Henslowe's "Diary;" Lowyn in another memorandum in the same volume; and Lowin at the end of Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," 1603, as well as in various other places. Malone (Inquiry, p. 250) asserts that the name was "never spelt Lowine;" a strange oversight, when it is so spelt in the list prefixed to the folio of 1623: he adds, that it was sometimes spelt Lewen, but this is probably a mistake, arising from Malone having confounded Dr. Lewen and his family with John Lowin, the actor. See, however, the end of the present memoir.

must have taken place before 1574, because in that year he had a daughter christened

Susan Lowen, daughter of Richard Lowen. 25 April, 1574.

Susan Lowin was of course the elder sister of our actor, who had a brother William born in 1581, as we find by the subsequent entry in the same registers :

William Lowen, the sonne of Richard Lowen. 28 May, 1581.

We do not meet with the mention of any other children by Richard Lowin ; but John Lowin, whom we suppose to have been brother to Richard, had a daughter christened on 9th November, 1586. A William Lowin, who had a son Christopher baptized on 19th August, 1576, is also mentioned in the registers of St. Giles, and it is not unlikely that he was a near relative of the same family, after whom William Lowin, the son of Richard, was named in 1581.

Where and how John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, was educated we have not the slightest information, nor do we at all know in what way he became connected with the stage. Alleyn and Henslowe constructed their theatre, the Fortune, in Golden Lane, Cripplegate, in 1599 : it was opened for performances soon afterwards ; and the first we hear of Lowin, as a player, is in November, 1602, when there is no doubt he was in Henslowe's pay. Malone notices the last of the subsequent extracts from Henslowe's "Diary," but he omits the two others, which perhaps he failed to discover, and which would have contributed to his purpose, by showing that Lowin was a member of the Earl of Worcester's company of players six months before the period Malone assigns to that circumstance. We give the following exactly as they stand in the original record of Henslowe's transactions, printed by the Shakespeare Society :—

Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr, 1602, unto Mr. Smyth, the some of x^s.

Pd at the apoyntment of John Lowen, the 12 of Novmbr, 1602, unto
harey Chettell, the some of iij^s.

Lent unto John Lowyn, the 12 of Marche, 1602, when he went into
the contrey with his company to playe, in Redy mony, the some of v^s.

March, 1602, was March, 1602-3, according to the usual division of the year at that period, and was of course subsequent to November, 1602, to which the previous memoranda refer.¹ They show that in the autumn of 1602, Henslowe advanced to Lowin, then a player in the association of the Earl of Worcester's servants, two sums of ten shillings and five shillings, that he might give them to Wentworth Smith and Henry Chettle, on account of dramas then in hand by those poets: in the spring of the following year the company broke up in London, and went from the Fortune theatre into the country to carry on their performances. In December, 1602, Lowin completed his twenty-sixth year: how long he had then been on the stage we have no authority to prove, but it seems not unnatural to suppose that the erection of the new playhouse in the parish where he was born, and probably brought up, had induced him to take to the theatre as a profession, instead of following his father's business. If so, he did not become connected with the stage until he was considerably more than of full age. The position he occupied in November, 1602, as negociator, or medium, between Henslowe and dramatic authors, seems, however, to indicate that he was even then prominent in the company. Various players of much older claims were not so employed.

Not long afterwards, he became a member of the company called the King's players:² he was an actor with Shakespeare and six others in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," produced, as

¹ Henslowe's Diary, pp. 234, 244.

² But he kept up his intimacy with Alleyn many years after the latter had retired from the stage. Lowin not unfrequently dined with Alleyn, at his College in Dulwich, between 1619 and 1622. "Mem. of Alleyn, p. 154.

the poet informs us, in the year 1603, by that association; but his name is not found in the patent of May, 1603, and he could hardly have been included in the general terms, there used, of "the rest of their associates." We have no doubt that he joined the King's players between May, 1603, and the particular date, whatever it might be, when "Sejanus" was represented for the first time.¹ He is also one of the actors introduced, with Burbadge and Condell, in his own person into the induction to Marston's "Malcontent," printed in 1604, although he has not much of the dialogue assigned to him;² there is no doubt that he had a share in the performance of the body of that drama, but what share it is impossible to determine. These particulars, however, seem to establish that he was not, even then, an inferior member of the company; and we shall soon find that he became one of the principal sharers in it.

In the year 1607, Lowin appeared before the world quite in a new character—that of an author: it is a circumstance not hitherto pointed out, but we have it upon very conclusive evidence. The production is merely a small, *ad captandum* tract, not in itself dramatic, although on a subject connected with the stage, and it has the following title:—

"Conclusions upon Dances, both of this Age and of the Olde. Newly composed and set forth by an Out-landish Doctor. London, Printed for John Orphinstange, and are to be solde at his shop neere Holborne Bridge. 1607." 4to.

¹ It deserves notice, however, that when Henslowe, or some person in his employ, was making out a list of "the King's Company," after April, 1604, the name of Lowin is not included. See p. 136, and "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 68. The omission, though singular, must have been merely accidental, for there can be no doubt that Ben Jonson would not have included Lowin as one of the performers in "Sejanus" if he had not acted in it. Here we have positive evidence against negative testimony.

² See pp. 26 and 154 of the present volume.

It consists of only thirteen leaves, and the main object (excepting that perhaps of raising a temporary supply of money) was to vindicate dancing from the attacks of the Puritans, which had commenced even before the publication of Northbrooke's *Treatise*, in 1577.¹ The dedication is as follows:—

To the Right Honorable Lord, my Lord Dennie.

My Lord, when I make a dedication of some writing of mine, it is not for to follow the common and ordinarie proceedings of other writers, but onely because I see such a deed to have beene effected by the evangelist S. Luke, which dedicated his writings to that great man, most honorable Theophilus. The certainty wherof doth manifestlie appeare about the beginning of his Gospell, as also in the entrance of his other booke, commonly called The Acts of the Apostles. And now I dedicate these, my conclusions upon dances, to your Lordship, because I was once mooved to speake of them in your Lordship's companie: which matter I could not then handle so pertinentely, in speach, as I can at this time in ink and paper. Thus in London, with my praier to God for you, my Lord, the 23 of November. 1606.

Your Lordship's humble servant,

I. L. *Roscio*.

The signature, "I. L. *Roscio*," is of course to be taken as "I. L. *actor*," or John Lowen the player; but we do not attribute the pamphlet to him merely on the strength of these initials and designation, but because a copy of it exists, in the library of a collector, with these words distinctly written upon the title-page, "By Jhon Lowin. Witnesseth Tho. D. 1610." This evidence is therefore sufficiently complete, without supposing, as we may reasonably do, that "Tho. D." means Thomas Dekker, who was a distinguished dramatist for the company to which Lowin had belonged, and in whose plays he had often acted, before he joined the association of which Shakespeare was a member.

¹ "A Treatise, wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes, &c., are re-proved, &c. By John Northbrooke." Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843.

As this production, on many accounts of little worth, is of value on account of its rarity and its authorship, we shall venture to make a brief quotation from one of its later divisions, which is thus headed :—

OF THE ORDINARIE DANCES, USED EVERIE WHERE IN
THESE DAYS.

Now that we have handled the *Dances* of the old Age, shall wee make evident in few lines what wee thinke of the *Dances* of our dayes? These *Dances* (I speake of the greater part of them) doe seeme unto our judgement to be partly vaine, and partly prophane. Vaine, because neither men nor women are able to attaine unto the knowledge and practise of the art of such *Dancing*, without vexation of the Spirit, and losse of time. Prophane, because in the old age the women *danced* to this intent, that thereby their spirituall Songes and Divine prayes should waxe more fervent, and consequently become more acceptable unto GOD : whereas, now very often, in a great many places, among the Christians themselves, not onely the women, but also the men doe *dance* to please the world. Notwithstanding, God alone is hee which seeth their heartes and intentions ; and without difficultie it may be that our conjectures are not sufficiently ludicious.

The vexation of the Spirit is so much spoken against by that wise *Salomon*, in his Booke of *Ecclesiastes*, that it is a wonderfull thing to see so many, and so many againe, that never keepe themselves from the tearing clawes of that monster. And the losse of time might be better avoyded, if men would but note the admonition of the Apostle *S. Paul*, in the 5 Chap. of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where hee biddeth them *Redeeme the time* : when hee admonisheth them *To walk circumspectedly, not as Fooles, but as Wise, and to understand what the will of the Lord is.*

Moreover, many of these *Dances* are so much artificiall, (at the least, within our cogitations, and within the cogitations of some other persons which have also observed in the holy histories of the old Testament, the manner of *dancing* practised among the *Israelitish* women that lived in the feare of God) many of these dances (I say) are so much artificiall, that the humane minds can not be intended nor attentive to the art of *dancing* and to the prayse of God together.

This extract is not more disappointing than the whole pamphlet, which contains no information respecting the particular dances then used on or off the stage, matters with which Lowin must have been well acquainted. Before 1606 the prevalence of the plague in London had much reduced the emoluments of actors, and we may conclude that Lowin resorted to the press, and availed himself of his popularity as an actor, for the purpose of supplying his temporary necessities.

It may appear difficult to account for the apparently sudden change in his circumstances between 1606 and 1608, had we not ascertained (a fact unknown to Malone and Chalmers) that he married in less than a year after the date of the dedication we have above inserted: the object of his choice was a widow of the name of Hall, and there is reason to believe that she must have been sufficiently well provided for by her late husband. The ceremony was performed in the church of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, a parish near to that in which Lowin and his family had, as we have shown, resided: the entry in the register is in the subsequent form:—

John Lowen and Joane Hall, widow, were married the 29 of October, 1607, p licent. ex officio facultatum.

The license may have been obtained in order to gratify the wealthy widow Hall; and it was by no means usual for actors to incur this additional expense. Whether they had children does not appear from any of the parish records we have been able to consult: no offspring was baptized at any of the churches in the neighbourhood of our theatres; and it is by no means impossible that a widow of an advanced age fell in love with our young actor, and married him, he of course being reconciled to the union by her money.

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that Lowin did not quit the stage in consequence of his marriage, but with the property he acquired he appears to have become just afterwards a considerable sharer in the company of the King's players.

About the year 1608 an estimate was made of the value of the Blackfriars theatre, and of the interests of the different parties concerned in it; and by a document which has been preserved we find, that the receipts of the playhouse were divided into twenty shares, and that Lowin was the owner of a share and a half. The value of the share and a half is stated to be £350 in money of that time, and it would ascend to not far short of £1000 in money of the present day.

Although the circumstances of Lowin might be indifferent in November, 1606, when he wrote his "Conclusions upon Dances," we apprehend that he had become a sharer in the Blackfriars and Globe theatres in 1608, in consequence of means supplied by his wife. Nevertheless, we shall see that later in life, perhaps long after the death of Mrs. Lowin, (of whom we hear no more, not having been able to discover even the registration of her burial) he was put to the severest straits to obtain subsistence.

Not long subsequent to his marriage he seems to have taken a house in the liberty of the Clink, Southwark, very near to the Globe theatre, where the company to which he was attached performed from about April to October in each year. The poor-rate he was charged was at the rate of two pence per week, but many others paid only one penny per week, although Henslowe, Alleyn, Shakespeare, and a few more, contributed six pence per week, and some others three pence and four pence per week. Lowin paid as much as Francis Carter, the overseer of the Liberty,¹ so that we need not doubt that his habitation was sufficiently commodious.

The token-books at St. Saviour's, to which we have already been indebted for minute information regarding the residence of actors, show that Lowin, in 1609, lived "near the playhouse," although we are not told which of the several playhouses was intended: he was in the same situation in

¹ See "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 91.

1612, 1615, and 1616, but after that date he perhaps removed from the neighbourhood, as his name does not again occur in the token-books until 1627, when he was in "Bradford's Rents." From 1633 to 1642, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, he was in what are called "Mr. Brooker's Tenements." At this period, the civil wars, and the triumphant hostility of the Puritans, put a stop to theatrical performances.

It will be fit now to state what we know, or may be conjectured, respecting the characters Lowin sustained in plays of the time, especially in those of Shakespeare, bearing in mind, however, that he did not join the association of King James's players until after May, 1603. We have already mentioned his appearance in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" in 1603, and in Marston's "Malcontent" in 1604: there is no doubt also that he appeared in 1605 in "Volpone," in 1610 in "The Alchemist," and in 1611 in "Catiline:" he likewise took a part in "Epicœne;" but, of course, not when it was originally produced, in 1609, by the Children of the Queen's Revels. Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, speaks of Lowin's celebrity in these characters, adding two others, Falstaff and Melantius: old Trueman is telling Love-wit what he remembered of the stage before the silencing of the theatres in 1642, observing, "In my time, before the wars, Lowin used to act with mighty applause Falstaff, Morose, Volpone, Mammon in The Alchemist, and Melantius in The Maid's Tragedy." It may be concluded that he was the original Volpone and Mammon; but he could not have been the original Morose, because "Epicœne" was brought out by a rival company, and Melantius he could only have taken after the death of Burbadge: in the same way he could only have been Falstaff after the character had been relinquished by Heminge, or some older performer. The last play in which Falstaff figures is "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and it is quite certain that it was written, acted,

and printed before Lowin belonged to the company by which it was produced.¹

Besides "The Maid's Tragedy," in which Lowin's original part must have been Amintor, and not Melantius,² he appeared in many of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, and no doubt retained his characters as long as theatres were allowed to be kept open; but only two of them can, we believe, be assigned to him with certainty, viz.: Aubrey in "The Bloody Brother," and Belleur in "The Wild Goose Chase." He was Eubulus in Massinger's "Picture," Domitian in the same poet's "Roman Actor," Bosola in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," both originally and on its revival, and Jacomo in Carlell's "Deserving Favourite." These, we think, are all the characters Lowin is ascertained to have undertaken.

The earliest date at which Lowin's name is met with in any patent, or license to players, is 27th March, 1619, when James I. granted to his company a confirmation of the patent of 1603. The names there stand thus, omitting Burbadge, who was just dead—Heminge, Condell, Lowin, Tooley, Underwood, Field, &c.; so that, at all events, our actor filled a distinguished place in the enumeration, and he still occupied it in 1625, when Charles I. came to the throne, and renewed the concession made by his father: in the list of thirteen per-

¹ Roberts the player, in his "Answer to Pope," states, that Lowin was also Henry VIII. and Hamlet. Whatever may have been the fact as to the first, we are quite certain that Roberts was wrong as to the second, if he meant that Lowin was the original Hamlet. Burbadge was the first Hamlet, Taylor the second, and if Lowin played the part at all, it could only be after Taylor had resigned it. Downes, in his *Roscarius Anglicanus*, 1708, informs us, that Betterton was instructed how to act Henry VIII. by Sir W. Davenant, "who had it from old Mr. Lowin, that had his instructions from Mr. Shakespeare himself." This was the authority upon which Roberts made his assertion in 1729.

² Wright tells us, that when Lowin played Melantius, Stephen Hamerton was the Amintor.—*Historia Histrionica*, 1699. 8vo.

formers Lowin's name is third, preceded only by the veterans of the stage, Heminge and Condell, and followed by Taylor, Robinson, Benfield, and the rest of the association.

Lowin does not appear to have had any ostensible concern in the management of the company, until, as we suppose, Heminge and Condell quitted the stage, as actors, about 1623: then his name is met with, associated with that of Taylor, in the accounts of the office of the Revels, as representing the King's players when they were paid for dramatic performances at court.¹ Subsequent to the deaths of Condell in 1627, and of Heminge in 1630, it is quite clear that Taylor and Lowin, for Taylor's name sometimes comes first in the warrants, were the recognized heads of the association. Such, however, was not the case on 6th May, 1629, when an order was issued for delivering from the royal wardrobe the usual quantity of cloth and velvet for the cloaks and capes of the King's players: Lowin's name precedes that of Taylor in 1634, when £220 were paid to the leaders of the company for twenty-two plays acted before the King and court. In that instance we find, what was rather extraordinary, a third name introduced into the warrant, that of Eliard Swanston, who had come into the company prior to 1624, and who about nine years afterwards incurred with Lowin the especial

¹ Alexander Gill wrote his scurrilous verses on Ben Jonson and his "Magnetic Lady" in 1632, and at the end of them Lowin and Taylor are thus mentioned as leaders of the stage:—

"Fall then to work in thy old age again,
Take up your trug and trowel, gentle Ben:
Let plays alone—and if thou needs will write,
And thrust thy feeble muse into the light,
Let Lowin cease, and Taylor feare to touch
The loathed stage, for thou hast made it such."

This poem may be seen at length in Gifford's "Ben Jonson," vi., 123. Part of it had been quoted by Langbaine in 1691, and there (p. 292) Ben Jonson's reply may also be found.

anger of the Master of the Revels for acting the old, uncorrected, and unpurged copy of "The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed." The information we possess on this subject applies to the autumn of 1633, and it was extracted by Malone from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert: we subjoin all that relates to this period:—

On Friday, the 19th of October, 1633, I sent a warrant by a messenger of the chamber to suppress "The Tamer Tamed" to the King's players for that afternoon; and it was obeyed, upon complaint of foul and offensive matters contained therein: they acted "The Scornful Lady" instead of it. I have entered the warrant here:—

"These are to will and require you to forbear the acting of your play, called 'The Tamer Tamed, or the Taming of the Tamer,' this afternoon, or any more till you have leave from me: and this at your peril.

"On Friday morning, the 18th October, 1633.

"To Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lowin, or any of the
King's players at the Blackfriars."

On Saturday morning following the book was brought to me, and at my Lord Holland's request I returned it to the players the Monday morning after, purged of oaths, profaneness, and ribaldry, being the 21st of October, 1633.

On the same occasion, Sir Henry Herbert directed the following note (written upon the play sent to him) to a person of the name of Knight, who was the prompter (or, as he was also called, book-keeper, and book-holder) of the company:—

Mr. Knight,

In many things you have saved me labour, yet, where your judgment or pen failed you, I have made bold to use mine. Purge their parts, as I have the book, and I hope every hearer and player will think that I have done God good service, and the quality no wrong; who hath no greater enemies than oaths, profaneness, and public ribaldry, which for the future I do absolutely forbid to be presented unto me in any playbook, as you will answer it at your peril.

21st October, 1633.

It appears from the rest of Sir Henry Herbert's memorandum, that Lowin and Eliard Swanston were the principal offenders in the objectionable representation of "The Tamer Tamed." What parts they had we know not, but six days after the performance had been forbidden they made their submission to the Master of the Revels, and were forgiven: the memorandum in the Office-book is in this form:—

"The 24th October, 1633, Lowin and Swanston were sorry for their ill manners, and craved my pardon, which I gave them in the presence of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Benfeilde."

There is no list of actors appended to either edition of "The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed;" but we may infer that Joseph Taylor and Robert Benfield, who were present when Lowin and Swanston "craved the pardon" of Sir Henry Herbert, had not been concerned in the representation of it in 1633: they do not seem to have been included in the displeasure of the Master of the Revels.¹

We are aware of no other theatrical event in the life of Lowin, but the publication by him and Taylor, in 1652, of Fletcher's "Wild Goose Chase," in which they had been the original actors of the characters of Mirabel and Belleur about

¹ Such had not been the case nine years before, when all the company was in disgrace for having acted a play called "The Spanish Viceroy," without having first obtained the permission of the Master of the Revels: he required the signatures of the whole body to the following acknowledgment of their offence.

"To Sir Henry Herbert, K^t., Master of his Ma^{ties} Revels.

"After our humble service remembered unto your good worship. Whereas not long since we acted a play called 'The Spanish Viceroy,' not being licensed under your worship's hand, nor allowed of: we do confess and hereby acknowledge that we have offended, and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it; and do likewise promise hereby, that we will not act any play without your hand or substitute's hereafter, nor do anything that may prejudice the authority of your office. So, hoping that this humble submission of

the year 1621. The comedy had been lost when the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works was printed in 1647,¹ and it was "retrieved" afterwards "by a person of honour, for the public delight of all the ingenious, and the private benefit" of Lowin and Taylor, who thus raised a small sum to relieve their necessities. In their dedication "to the honoured few lovers of dramatic poesy" they say, "'Tis not unknown to you all, how by a cruel destiny we have a long time been mute and bound, although our miseries have been sufficiently clamorous and expanded, yet, till this happy opportunity, never durst vex your open ears and hands, but this, we're confident of, will be the surest argument for your nobleness. What an ingenious person of quality once spake of his amours, we apply to our necessities :—

' Silence in love betrays more woe
Than words, though ne'er so witty :
The beggar that is dumb, you know,
Deserves a double pity.' "

ours may be accepted, we have thereunto set our hands, this twentieth of December, 1624.

JOSEPH TAYLOR.	JOHN LOWEN.
RICHARD ROBINSON.	JOHN SHANCKE.
ELYARD SWANSTON.	JOHN RICE.
THOMAS POLLARD.	WILL. ROWLEY.
ROBERT BENFEILDE.	RICHARD SHARPE."
GEORGE BURGH.	

If this apology were dictated by the Master of the Revels, he committed a droll oversight when he made the players say, "and that it is in your power to punish this offence, and are very sorry for it :—" no doubt they were sorry that the Master had the power to punish it. Earlier in 1624 the same company had even more seriously offended, by performing Middleton's "Game at Chess," which was perhaps connected in subject, both that and "The Spanish Viceroy" relating to Gondomar and the court.

¹ This edition purports to have been put forth by ten player-editors, and the names of Lowin and Taylor are at the head of the list.

It seems likely that Lowin had invested the property he obtained with his wife, the widow Hall, in 1607, in the theatres in which he was concerned, and, of course, by the suppression of the stage, it was all swept away and annihilated. Wright, speaking of the circumstances under which Lowin and Taylor printed "The Wild Goose Chase," adds, "whatever they were before the wars, they were afterwards reduced to a necessitous condition."¹ By the same historian of our old stage we are also informed, that "Lowin, in his latter days, kept an inn, the Three Pidgeons, at Brentford, where he died very old." Malone tells us that Wright "was mistaken with respect to the place of Lowin's death, for he died in London at the age of eighty-three, and was buried in the ground belonging to the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, March 18, 1658-9."² On the 8th of the following October, administration of the goods of John Lowin was granted to Martha Lowin, I suppose the actor's widow." If she were his widow, she must have been Lowin's second wife, for his first wife's name was Joan.

Chalmer's repeats Malone's statement regarding the death and burial of Lowin, although he would willingly have contradicted it, had he possessed the means of detecting an error; but we may point out, as a remarkable coincidence in date and name, that on 16th March, 1668-9, a John Lowen (so spelt) was interred at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, where the following registration is met with among the burials:—

16 March, 1668-9, Mr. John Lowen."

If this could have been John Lowin, the actor in Shakespeare's plays, he was not eighty-three, but ninety-three, at at the time of his death.

¹ *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

² The name is spelt Lewin in the register, a circumstance Malone omitted to mention:—

"18 Martij 1658 and 1659. Johanes Lewin, vir."

SAMUEL CROSSE.

We have not been able to discover anything relative to the family, birth, or performances of this actor. The surname was common in Blackfriars and Cripplegate,¹ as well as in Shoreditch and Southwark ; but neither there, nor elsewhere, have we met with any mention of a Samuel Crosse.

It may be doubted whether the Samuel Crosse, who was one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays, were the Crosse thus mentioned, among others, by Thomas Heywood, in 1612, as before his time—

To omit all the doctors, zanies, pantaloons, harlequins, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have been excellent, and, according to the occasion offered, to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mills, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others ; these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witness of their desert) give them that applause which, no doubt, they worthily merit.²

We know from Henslowe's "Diary"³ that Heywood was connected with the stage as early as 1596, if not earlier ; and it seems, therefore, improbable that he should not have seen the Crosse who acted characters drawn by Shakespeare, and whose name is therefore inserted in the list preceding the folio of 1623. There might be two performers of that name,

¹ John Crosse was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, 23rd September, 1569 ; and Catherine, daughter of John Crosse, was christened at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 15th April, 1582.

² "An Apology for Actors," 1612, Sign. E, 2 b : Shakespeare Society's reprint, p. 43.

³ Printed for the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

as there were two Wilsons, both named Robert, and two Burbadges, James and Richard, father and son.

It is very clear, from the companions of Crosse in Heywood's enumeration, that he was a comedian, and probably a low comedian ; but, if it were the same man who acted in the plays of our great dramatist, we have no clue to any of the parts he sustained. We know of no other mention of, or allusion to him, in any author of the time, nor does his name occur in any extant list of the members of particular companies. Supposing that there were not two actors of the name, Samuel Crosse must have been dead before Heywood became acquainted with the stage : as to his merits, and those of the other players he speaks of, Heywood adds,

By the reports of many judicial auditors, their performances of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kind of sin to drown their worths in Lethe, and not commit their almost forgotten names to eternity.

This sentence, it is to be remembered, was published in 1612. No will by Samuel Crosse, nor administration to his effects, was discovered by Malone or Chalmers, and our inquiries have been equally fruitless.

ALEXANDER COOKE.

Malone conjectured that the name of Saunder, which often occurs among the actors of Tarlton's "Second part of the Seven Deadly Sins," was meant for Alexander Cooke, and he is censured by Chalmers for not having been aware that Saunder was a distinct person and a player: yet Chalmers himself fell into the same error, and concluded that Cooke had been "the heroine of the stage even before the year 1589." The fact is that the name of Cooke does not occur at all in the "plat" of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins," and there can be little doubt that "Saunder" was not intended to designate him.

This circumstance gets rid of a difficulty that does not appear to have struck Malone or Chalmers, that if Cooke acted female parts as early as 1588, he still continued the representative of such characters many years afterwards, viz., in 1603, when Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" was brought out, and in 1605, when his "Volpone" was first performed: it is, to say the least of it, unlikely that the same man should be "the heroine of the stage" in 1588 and 1605. In both the plays we have named Alexander Cooke was called upon to act; and although we cannot assert positively, with Chalmers, that "he acted as a woman in Ben Jonson's Sejanus and in The Fox," because we have nothing much better than conjecture to support us, yet Cooke's name occupies such a place, in the list of performers at the end of each, as to make it probable that he was Agrippina in the tragedy, and Fine-madam Would-be in

the comedy.¹ Our opinion is, that he had outgrown his female characters in 1610, when "The Alchemist" was first played, and in 1611, when "Catiline" was originally acted: in both these Cooke had characters, but the place his name occupies in the list supplied by the author is entirely changed: it stands fourth in "The Alchemist," and second in "Catiline," and not last, as in the two former instances.²

Concluding, therefore, that "Saunder" of the plat of "The Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" was not Alexander Cooke, the first we hear of him is in October, 1603, in the post-script to a letter from Mrs. Alleyn to her husband, then in the country, where she speaks of several other actors who desired to be remembered to Alleyn: among them, "Cooke and his wife in the kindest sort" commended themselves to him. They lived in Southwark, from whence Mrs. Alleyn wrote, and there their first child was baptized in 1605. The entry in the register at St. Saviour's specifies that the father of the boy was a player.

1605. October 27. Frauncis Cooke, son of Alexander, a player.

¹ Malone, like Chalmers, is very decisive in his assertion that Alexander Cooke not only "acted some woman's part" in "Sejanus" and "Volpone," but that he "performed all the principal female characters in Shakespeare's plays." All that he knew, or conjectured, respecting our actor, is comprised in these two sentences, in one of which he was decidedly wrong, and in the other there is no evidence that he was right:—

"From the plat of the Seven Deadly Sins [i.e., the *second part* of that dramatic performance] it appears that this actor was on the stage before 1588, and was the stage-heroine. He acted some woman's part in Jonson's *Sejanus* and in the *Fox*; and, we may presume, performed all the principal female characters in our author's plays."—Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 211.

² Alexander Cooke is also in the list of actors preceding Beaumont and Fletcher's "Captain," which, had we not other evidence on the point, would establish that it was acted before February, 1614.

Malone and Chalmers, though they consulted these parish records, took no notice of this and other memoranda of the same description: in all probability, they never saw them, or they would have quoted or referred to some of them, and not have supposed that "Saunder," of 1588, was Alexander Cooke, whose eldest child was born seventeen years afterwards. The registers contain no mention of the marriage of Cooke, but it is obvious that he was married, and perhaps newly married, in October, 1603, when Mrs. Alleyn wrote to her husband.

The token-books of the same parish enable us to state, that in 1604 Alexander Cooke lived in Hill's Rents; and he continued to occupy the same house in 1607, 1609, and 1610, and perhaps died in it, although these curious and minute documents are deficient, as applied to that particular district, in 1611, 1612, 1613, and 1614. Cooke, with various Christian appellations, was a very common name; and the token-book of 1605 states that William Cooke, probably no relation to Alexander though near neighbours, was "in the Clink" prison, and therefore absent from his dwelling-house.

On 11th October, 1607, Alexander Cooke had another daughter baptized Rebecca¹ at his parish church; and a third child, Alice, was not born until 1611, having been baptized on 3rd November of that year. These, according to the registers at St. Saviour's, were all the offspring of Alexander Cooke and his wife during the life of the father, for he was buried on the 25th February, 1613-14, and left his wife very near her time with their fourth child, which was born in March

¹ She was perhaps named after an aunt, who was married in 1614 to an actor of the name of Turner: the fact appears from the register of St. Saviour's:—

"1614, July 14. Robert Turner to Rebecca Cooke."

There were several Turners on the stage about the same time, but this was perhaps the "Mr. Turner" mentioned by Downes (*Roscus Anglicanus*, 1708, p. 18) as having acted under Rhodes at the Cockpit, before the Restoration.

1613-14, and was christened Alexander: the registration is in these terms, recording also that the father was dead:—

“ 1613, March 20. Alexander Cooke, son of Alexander, a player, deceased.”¹

Chalmers asserts without qualification, and adducing no authority, that Alexander Cooke, the father, “ died in April, 1614:” this was merely his conjecture, from the fact that Cooke’s will, made in January, was not proved by the widow until May, 1614; but in the interval she had been brought to bed of the son with whom she was left *enceinte*. Neither Chalmers nor Malone saw the subsequent entry of the interment of Alexander Cooke, less than a month before his wife was confined:—

“ 1613, Feb. 25. Alexander Cooke, a man, in the church.”

This is the first and only instance in which Cooke’s profession is not stated in the register.

Whatever were the parentage of Cooke, of which we know nothing, he was one of a numerous family: he mentions two brothers and five sisters in his will. His two brothers were named Ellis and John; and it never seems to have occurred to previous biographers, that John Cooke was, very possibly, no other than the author of a very celebrated comedy, which, in the only known early editions, (one without date, and the other printed in 1614) is called, after the popular performer of the chief part in it, “ Greene’s *Tu Quoque*.”² Nothing is known of the origin or connexions of John Cooke, who, as far as we can ascertain, left no other dramatic work behind him, but a collection of epigrams was entered in his name at Stationers’ Hall in 1604. The comedy is highly laughable, was

¹ This son was married at St. Saviour’s in 1636 to Elizabeth Whiting, the union being thus recorded:—

“ 29 April, 1636. Alexander Cooke and Elizabeth Whiting.”

² It is inserted in vol. vii. of “ Dodsley’s Old Plays,” last edition.

acted at court twice in 1612,¹ and must have been very acceptable to the audiences at the Red Bull theatre, where Greene was a favourite performer.²

Alexander Cooke wrote his will with his own hand, although, as he states, "sick of body" at the time it bears date, rather more than six weeks before his death. From the contents of it he seems to have been in moderate circumstances: he gave each of his two children £50, which two sums he kept in one purse in a cupboard; and to his child, then unborn, £50 more, which was in the hands of his "fellows," the members of the King's company of players, "as his share of the stock." These sums he entreated "his master Heminge" (as if he had been a theatrical apprentice to him) Henry Condell, and a person of the name of Francis Caper, "to take into their hands," in order that they might be lodged in Grocers' Hall (of which company, it will be recollected, Heminge was

¹ See Mr. Cunningham's "Revels' Accounts," p. 211, whence it appears that it was called "The City Gallant," as well as "Greene's Tu Quoque." "The City Gallant" was most likely its original title, until Greene, by acting the character of Bubble so humorously, gave it a new name.

² Witness the following quotation from the play:—

"*Geraldine.* Why then we'll go to the Red Bull: they say Greene's a good clown.

"*Bubble.* Greenel Greene's an ass.

"*Scattergood.* Wherefore do you say so?

"*Bubble.* Indeed I ha' no reason, for they say he is as like me as ever he can look."—D. O. P., vol. vii., p. 57, last edition.

Thus we see that the practice of making actors commend, and comment upon, themselves in the course of a play is not so modern as might be imagined. Thomas Heywood caused the comedy to be printed in 1614, when both the author and the actor were dead: Alexander Cooke's brother John, we may believe, was dead when Alexander made his will, which adds to the possibility (we do not say probability) that John was the author of "Greene's Tu Quoque."

a member), for greater security. The will is dated 3rd January, 1613-14; and, as we have stated, it was proved by the widow on the 4th May, 1614. It is in these terms:—

In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste. I, Alexander Cooke, sick of body, but in perfect minde, doe with mine owne hand write my last will and testament. First, I bequeathe my soule into the hands of God, my deer Saviour Jesus Christ, who bought it and payd for it deerly with his blood on the crosse; next, my body to the earthe, to be buryed after the manner of Christian buryall.

Item, I do give and bequeath unto my sonne Francis the some of fifty pounds, to be delivered to him at the age of one and twenty yeeres.

Item, I doe give and bequeath unto my daughter Rebecca the some of fiftye pounds also, to be delivered to hir at the age of seaventeene years, or at hir day of mariage, which it shall please God to bring firste, which somes of money are bothe in one purse in my cuberd.

Item, I doe give and bequeathe unto the childe which my wife now goeth with, the some of fiftye pounds allso, which is in the hand of my fellowes, as my share of the stock, to be delivered, if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a girle at seaventeene, or day of maryage, as before: all whiche somes of moneyes I doe intreate my Master Hemings, Mr. Cundell, and Mr. Frances Caper (for God's cause) to take into their hands, and see it saflye put into Grocers Hall, for the use and bringinge up of my poore orphants.

Item, I doe further give and bequeathe unto my daughter Rebecca the windowe cushens made of needle worke, together withe the window cloathe, court cuboard cloathe, and chimneye cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke sutable, and greene silke fringe.

If any of my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that the survivors shall have there parte equallye divided to the last. If all my children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my brother Ellis, or his children, shall have one halfe of all; the other halfe to be thus divided: to my five sisters, or their children, tenn pounds apiece amongst them, my brother John's daughter other tenne pounds, the reste to my wife if she live then, if not to Ellis and his. If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no childe of his body, my will is, it shall all be equally distributed amongst my sisters and the children of

there bodya, only my wive's parte reserved, if she live: my wife paying all charges of my buriall, performing my will in every poynte as I have set downe, my will is she shall injoy and be my full and lawfull executrix [of] all my goods, chattels, moveables, debbts, or whatsoever is mine in all the worlde.

This is my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have set to my hand January the third, 1613. By me,

ALLEX. COOKE.

Chalmers printed the preceding document;¹ but the only fact he supplies connected with the biography of Alexander Cooke is, that Augustine Phillips left him a legacy, as one of his fellow-actors, in 1605. To some he gave "thirty shillings in gold," viz. to Shakespeare, Condell, and Christopher Beeston, who was his "servant;" and to others "twenty shillings in gold," viz. to Laurence Fletcher, Armyn, Cowley, Cooke, and Tooley.

¹ "Apology for the Believers," p. 447.

SAMUEL GILBURNE

Was “unknown” to Malone; and but for the will of Augustine Phillips, which Malone had not seen, we should have been without a single particular regarding him. In May, 1605, he was out of his time, because Phillips calls Gilburne “my late apprentice;” and he bequeaths to him “the sum of forty shillings, and my mouse-coloured velvet hose, and a white taffaty doublet, a black taffaty suit, my purple cloak, sword and dagger, and my base viol.”¹ We may infer that Gilburne could play upon the instrument thus left to him by his master and instructor in the business of the stage: we may also conclude that he was a young man, not long out of his articles; but as we never hear of him afterwards upon any other authority, he either died early, or quitted the profession. His name appears in no old list of *dramatis personæ* as a representative of one of the characters; so that, excepting what may be gathered from the fact that he was pupil to Phillips, a comedian, we know not what branch of the profession he followed.

The name of Gilburne does not occur about the required period in the Southwark registers, but it is met with frequently in those of Shoreditch: we there find John, Thomas, William Gilburne, &c., but no Samuel Gilburne. We have looked for it also in vain in Cripplegate, Aldermanbury, and Blackfriars; and our actor probably came from, and died in the country.

¹ See our memoir of Phillips, p. 87 of this volume.

ROBERT ARMIN.

The subsequent extract from "Tarlton's Jests" relates to the introduction of Armin to the stage : as it was published, and re-published, in the life-time of Armin, we may perhaps place the more confidence in the general accuracy of the statement. It is headed, "How Tarlton made Armin his adopted son, to succeed him."

Tarlton keeping a tavern in Gracechurch Street, he let it to another, who was indebted to Armin's master, a goldsmith in Lombard Street, yet he himself had a chamber in the same house ; and this Armin, being then a wag, came often thither to demand his master's money, which he sometimes had, and sometimes had not. In the end, the man, growing poor, told the boy he had no money for his master, and he must bear with him. The man's name being Charles, Armin made this verse, writing it with chalk on a wainscoat :—

O world! why wilt thou lye?
Is this Charles the great? That I deny:
Indeed, Charles the great before,
But now Charles the less, being poor.¹

Tarlton, coming into the room, reading it, and partly acquainted with the boy's humour, coming often thither for his master's money, took a piece of chalk, and wrote this rhyme by it :—

"A wag thou art; none can prevent thee,
And thy desert shall content thee.
Let me devine.—As I am
So in time thou'lt be the same:
My adopted son therefore be,
To enjoy my clown's suit after me."

¹ Oldys, in his MS. notes upon Langbaine, tells us, on the supposed authority of "Tarlton's Jests," that the tavern-keeper's name was Charles Tarlton, but this is clearly a mistake.

And see how it fell out. The boy, reading this, so loved Tarlton after, that regarding him with more respect, he used to his plays, and fell in a league with his humour: and private practice brought him to présent playing, and at this hour performs the same, where, at the Globe on the Bankside, men may see him.¹

It has been supposed on this authority that Armin became Tarlton's boy or apprentice, and was instructed by him: such may have been the fact, but the book called "Tarlton's Jests" affords no evidence of it. Armin was apprentice to a goldsmith when he became acquainted with Tarlton, and all we learn is, that Tarlton prophesied that Armin should be his successor in clown's parts, and that the boy, from his personal liking for Tarlton, frequented plays in which Tarlton acted, and admired, if not acquired, his humour: afterwards Armin had an opportunity of displaying his talents at the Globe theatre on the Bankside.

Tarlton, as has been repeatedly stated, died in September, 1588, and how long before that date he had given encouragement to Armin we know not; but his pupil (if such indeed he were) was a mere boy: probably he was not a grown man when he lost his theatrical patron. If we suppose Armin to have been seventeen or eighteen at the death of Tarlton, he was born about 1570 or 1571, consequently an actor of considerable standing in the spring of 1603, when James I. granted the patent to his players, in which the name of Armin comes last but one, preceding that of Richard Cowley.

The first edition of "Tarlton's Jests," now known, bears date in 1611, but there were evidently earlier impressions, and the three parts into which they are divided were separately printed: Thomas Pavior had a license to publish "the *second part* of "Tarlton's Jests" on 4th August, 1600; and Nash mentions them (possibly then consisting only of the *first part*)

¹ "Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory" (edited for the Shakespeare Society by J. O. Halliwell, Esq.), p. 22.

as early as 1592, in the following passage, written in answer to Gabriel Harvey, who had accused him of imitating Robert Greene and Tarlton: — "Wherein have I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that I should thanke them for all I have? Is my stile like Green's, or my *jeasts* like *Tarlton's*?"¹ Some of Tarlton's jests had therefore been printed before Nash wrote, and it is not likely that the appearance of the book would have been delayed long after the death of the principal subject of it.

On the other hand, unless jests were interlarded afterwards, to give an air of novelty to the tract on its re-appearance, the quotation we have above made, respecting the youth of Armin and his subsequent celebrity, establishes that that portion of the publication did not come out, at least, until after the building of the Globe theatre in 1594; for we are there told that private practice brought Armyn to present playing, "and at this hour performs the same, where, *at the Globe on the Bank side*, men may see him." It is not at all unlikely that "jest" were added from time to time, and that an edition, printed very soon after 1588 and containing only a few, would gradually be swelled as materials came to hand: for instance, it is very easy to suppose that Armin himself may have furnished the ground-work of the anecdote relating to his early propensity for the stage. For the sake of his own popularity, Armin may have wished it to be known, that so great a favourite as Tarlton had foretold his success, even while he was only a boy. If Armin had been on the stage when Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" was represented, of course before 1588, his name would most likely have occurred in the list of the performers of that piece.

¹ "Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters and a Convoy of Verres," &c. 1592, 4to. This tract in the next year was called "The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse."—See "The Bridgewater Catalogue," p. 211.

It may be doubted whether he rose to any considerable eminence, at all events at the Globe, until Kemp seceded from the company (then known as the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and afterwards as the King's players), shortly before the opening of the Fortune theatre by Henslowe and Alleyn in 1600, or 1601. Kemp, until then, had been the Dogberry of "Much Ado about Nothing,"¹ a character from which Armin some years subsequently made a quotation,² as if it had fallen into his hands after it had been relinquished by Kemp. Such might be the case with other parts, regarding which we have no information; for it is nowhere mentioned in what plays by Shakespeare, or by any other dramatist, Armin was called upon to perform, with the exception of Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," acted in 1610.

His name appeared early in print, supposing him to be, as he probably was, the Robert Armin who subscribed a preliminary address in prose to "A Brief Resolution of the right Religion," printed in 1590, 8vo. He must have written or put his name to other pieces now lost,³ for we find him, in 1593, introduced by Gabriel Harvey, with Thomas Deloney and Philip Stubbes, as one of "the common pamphletters of London."⁴ Deloney and Stubbes have left enough behind

¹ See our memoir of Kemp in this vol., p. 89.

² In the dedicatory epistle to his "Italian Tailor and his Boy," of which we shall say more hereafter.

³ Verses subscribed R. A. precede Robert Tofte's "Alba, or the Month's Mind of a Melancholy Lover," 1598. "England's Parnassus," 1600, is dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight, by R. A.; but it seems to have been generally agreed to assign that collection of "the choisest flowers of our modern poets" to Robert Allot, who was certainly a writer of the time.

⁴ "He [Nash] disdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubbs, Robert Armin, and the common pamphletters of London."—"Pierce's Supererrogation," 1593, 4to, p. 183.

them to warrant the inclusion of them in Harvey's description ;¹ but the same cannot be said of Armin, and what he wrote of this kind must have perished. In 1604 we again meet with the name of Robert Armin, at the conclusion of a dedicatory letter to Gilbert Dugdale's "True Discourse of the practices of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma. Jeffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall, widdow, and George Fernely," in order to poison a person of the name of Thomas Caldwell, in Cheshire. Gilbert Dugdale was the author of a species of pageant on the coronation of James I., called "Time Triumphant," 1604, 4to.; and Armin acknowledges himself to have been his kinsman in the epistle prefixed to the "True Discourse," &c., 1604, 4to., which we here reprint, as the tract is rare, and because much of the epistle relates personally to our actor. It is addressed—

To the right honourable and his singular good lady, the Lady Mary
Chandois,

R. A. wisheth health and everlasting happiness.

My honourable and very good lady, considering my duty to your kind ladyship, and remembering the virtues of your prepared mind, I could do no less but dedicate this strange work to your view, being both

¹ We need not enumerate the titles of Deloney's tracts, novels, and poems, as they may be seen in bibliographical catalogues; but we may take this opportunity of pointing out two ephemeral publications by Stubbes (the early enemy of theatrical performances, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1583), one of which has only been incidentally and incorrectly noticed, and the other nowhere mentioned. The first presents him with the appearance of a poet, (appearance only) in a tract called "Two wunderfull and rare Examples" of blasphemers and swearers who were visited by the judgment of God: it was printed in black letter by William Wright without date, and it contains a long exhortatory narrative in rhyme, subscribed Philip Stubbes. The second is a prose relation on "The intended Treasons of Doctor Parrie and his Complices," &c. "Imprinted at London for Henry Car," &c., also in black letter, without date, but the event fixes the period at which it must have been published.

matter of moment and truth. And to the whole world it may seem strange, that a gentlewoman so well brought up in God's fear, so well married, so virtuous ever, so suddenly wrought to this act of murder, that when your ladyship doth read as well the letter as the book of her own inditing, you will the more wonder that her virtues could so aptly taste the follies of vice and villainy. But so it was; and, for the better proof that it was so, I have placed my kinsman's name to it, who was present at all her troubles, at her coming to prison, her being in prison, and her going out of prison to execution, that those gentlemen, to whom he dedicates his work, witnessed, may also be partakers in that kind, for the proof thereof, that your ladyship and the world, so satisfied, may admire the deed, and hold it as strange as it is true.

We have many giddy-pated poets, that could have published the report with more eloquence; but truth, in plain attire, is the easier known: let fiction mask in Kendall green. It is my quality to add to the truth, truth, and not leasings to lies.

Your good honor knows Pinck's poor heart,¹ who, in all my service to your late deceased kind lord, never savoured of flattery or fiction, and, therefore, am now the bolder to present to your virtues the view of this late truth, desiring you to so think of it, that you may be an honourable mourner of these obsequies, and you shall no more do than many more have done. So, with my tendered duty, my true ensuing story, and my ever wishing well, I do humbly commit your ladyship to the prison of heaven, wherein is perfect freedom.

Your ladyship's ever,

In duty and service,

ROBERT ARMIN.

It will be recollected that it was in May, preceding the publication of this epistle, that we met with the name of Robert Armin standing last but one in the patent of James I.; and our persuasion is that, if he had not recently joined the

¹ We are nowhere informed how Armin obtained the nick-name of Pink—perhaps from his Christian name, Robert or Robin: in the same way Robert Tofte, the author of “Alba,” before mentioned, was also known as Robin Redbreast. We shall hereafter see, that Armin was called Robin by Davies of Hereford.

company of the King's players in consequence of the secession of Kemp who had attached himself to a rival association, he had somewhat suddenly risen to a station of prominence and importance in the association, by being called upon to perform characters which Kemp had necessarily relinquished — among these Dogberry.

Armin was certainly at one period a member of a company acting under the name and patronage of Lord Chandos, and it will be observed that the letter above quoted is addressed to his lordship's widow, and that Armin talks in it of his services to the late peer. In his "Nest of Ninnies,"¹ of which we shall speak farther presently, he introduces some anecdotes relating to the performances of the players of Lord Chandos, and to an idiot called Jack Miller, who was very fond of the clown of the association (probably Armin himself) whom he nicknamed Grumball. Armin does not give the date of these transactions, but it must have been before 1602, because William Bruges, Baron Chandos, died in that year. Armin perhaps quitted that body of actors about 1598, in order to unite himself to the players of the Lord Chamberlain; and it is very evident, from the manner in which, in the same tract, he relates certain incidents which happened to the fool of James VI. of Scotland, that he had been in that country, and an eyewitness of what he narrates. This was probably in the year 1599 or 1600, when a detachment of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, under Laurence Fletcher, was performing north of the Tweed, to the great satisfaction of the king.

Whether Kemp returned to his old parts, when he returned to his old quarters at the Blackfriars and Globe theatres, we cannot state; but it is quite certain that anterior to 1605 he and Armin were acting together in the same company. This fact is established by the complaint of the Corporation to the

¹ Reprinted in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, from the only extant copy of the original edition of 1608, in the Bodleian Library.

Privy Council, especially directed against Kemp and Armin by name, for bringing upon the stage "one or more of the worshipfull aldermen of the city of London, to their great scandall, and the lessening of their authority."¹

This is the last we hear of Kemp, who probably died soon afterwards, but Armin survived him several years, though, as far as we can judge, not in very flourishing circumstances. Augustine Phillips, who died in 1605, left Armin a legacy of twenty shillings, as one of his fellow-sharers and actors; but Armin had disposed of his interest, whatever it might be, when a value was put upon the Blackfriars theatre in the year 1608 or 1609, for his name does not occur among those who were in any way concerned; and as Joseph Taylor was then the owner of a share and a half, it is not impossible that he came into the property by purchase from Armin.

About this date he seems to have resumed his occupation as what Gabriel Harvey had termed him in 1593, "a common pamphletter;" for in 1608 came out, in 4to., a work, the title of which has been before introduced, "A Nest of Ninnies, simply of themselves without Compounds." We may pretty safely conclude that poverty had compelled Armin to sell his property as a sharer in the company of the King's players, although he continued one of the association, and that he now sought to relieve some temporary necessities by the publication of tracts, which he hoped would be popular.

Nevertheless, he called himself "servant to the King's most excellent Majesty," when he printed a play in the next year, under the title of "The Two Maids of More Clacke, with the Life and simple Manner of John in the Hospital;" but, though he still belonged to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, it is rather singular that his drama was brought out by "the Children of the King's Majesty's Revels." The fact that he had not quitted the association of

¹ See p. 117 of this volume, where the document is set out.

which he had so long been a member is evidenced by Ben Jonson, who, as already noticed, enumerates Armin among "the principal actors" in his "Alchemist," which, he tells us, was played by "the King's Majesty's servants" in 1610. Armin preserved the same designation of "servant to the King's most excellent Majesty," when he published his next tract, "The Italian Tailor and his Boy," which came out in 1609, which he admitted to be a translation, and which, in fact, forms Novel v., Night 8, of the *Notti Piacetoli* of Straparola.¹ In the introductory matter to this small work he refers to the deadly offence which his "Nest of Ninnies" had given in some quarters: "Not long since (he says) I discovered a nest of ninnies in this great womb of the world, and some of the old brood before scorned at this new birth: it was but to show their antiquity, and who was the neatest ninny of all the nest. One, forsooth, would kill the author; and why? because of the dedication." As the dedication to the members of the two Universities and Inns of Court has come down

¹ In "the Prologue to the Storie" we read as follows:—

" I thus destribute to all eyes
 What I of late have red:
 Though faigned, yet they are no lyes,
 But fancies better bred:
 And yet the subject of discent,
 As many worthies bee,
 Begun of nothing, till content
 Breed to maturitie.
 The Italian poet in discourse
 Sets down a homely toy,
 In singular donne, prose not verse,
 A taylor and his boy;
 Who in contention shewde the earth
 What art exceeded in,
 For nothing but an howers mirth;
 And thus doth he begin."

to us, it is difficult to imagine how any person could have taken it amiss, but there are in it some allusions, not now intelligible, which might then have been well understood.

The most remarkable passage in the preliminary matter to "The Italian Tailor and his Boy" is contained in the epistle to Lord and Lady Haddington, where Armin refers to his poverty, and makes such a reference to Dogberry as seems to render it certain that he succeeded to the character after Kemp resigned it, on retiring from the Lord Chamberlain's players, and joining those of the Lord Admiral: Armin's words are, "Pardon, I pray you, the boldness of a beggar, who hath been *writ down an ass* in his time, and pleads under *formâ pauperis* in it still, *notwithstanding his constableness* and office." Kemp was certainly dead when this was written, and Armin may possibly not have performed Dogberry until after that event; but our notion is, that the character devolved into Armin's hands when Kemp abandoned the Globe, and went to act at the Fortune.

John Davies, of Hereford, published his "Scourge of Folly" about 1611: it was certainly after 1609, because the printed edition of Lord Brooke's "Mustapha" of that year is mentioned in it. Among other "epigrams" to "worthy persons," such as Thomas Bastard, Sir John Harington, Samuel Daniel, Ben Jonson, &c., Davies devotes an especially long one to "Robin Armin," to whose private character, as well as to his public excellence, it bears testimony. It is thus humorously headed:—

*To honest, gamesome Robin Armin,
That tickles the spleen like an harmless vermin.*

Armin, what shall I say of thee, but this,
Thou art a fool and knave? Both? Fie! I miss,
And wrong thee much; sith thou, indeed, art neither,
Although in shew thou playest both together.
We all (that's kings and all) but players are
Upon this earthly stage, and should have care

To play our parts so properly, that we
 May at the end gain an *applaudite*.
 But most men over-act, mis-act, or miss
 The action which to them peculiar is ;
 And the more high the part is which they play,
 The more they miss in what they do or say .
 So that, when off the stage by death they wend,
 Men rather hiss at them, than them commend.
 But, honest Robin, thou with harmless mirth
 Dost please the world, and so enjoy'st the earth
 That others but possess with care that stings ;
 So mak'st thy life more happy far than kings.
 And so much more our love should thee embrace,
 Sith thou still liv'st with some that die to grace,
 And yet art honest, in despite of lets,
 Which earns more praise than forced goodness gets.
 So play thy part ; be honest still with mirth :
 Then, when th' art in the tiring house of earth,
 Thou being his servant whom all kings do serve,
 May'st for thy part well play'd like praise deserve ;
 For in that 'tiring house when either be
 Y'are one man's men, and equal in degree.
 So thou in sport the happiest men do school
 To do as thou dost—wisely play the fool.¹

¹ In his "Wit's Pilgrimage," Sign. P. 4, Davies inserts an epitaph upon a jester, or "professed fool," of the name of Meece, of whom we hear on no other authority. It does not appear that Meece was an actor, although Davies says of him—

" Then, never Foole on this world's reeling stage
 Plaid his part better, till forescore of age."

Some lines near the conclusion are worth quoting, with reference to representations in "The Dance of Death :"—

" Then, Meece, since Death doth play the foole with thee,
 Showing his teeth, laughing ill-favour'dly,
 Put on his pate thy capp, and on his back
 Thy pike coate put, with every foolish knack,

We may presume, therefore, that Armin continued, not only alive, but on the stage in 1611. If he were not dead in 1615, it is singular that, as he had done in his other works, he did not put his name at length on the title-page of a play then printed, called "The Valiant Welshman:" it purports to have been written by R. A., and possibly the publisher intended it to be inferred that it was by Armin, although nothing is said regarding him and his authorship. In Henslowe's "Diary," printed by the Shakespeare Society, will be found three notices of plays in which Welshmen were concerned; and one of these, as there suggested, may have been "The Valiant Welshman," an early work by Armin, if indeed he had anything to do with the play. We first hear of "The Welshman" in Henslowe's "Diary" in November 1595 (p. 61); of a drama by Drayton and Chettle, in which the part of a Welshman was inserted in March 1598 (p. 120); and of "The Welshman's Prize," as one of the stock-pieces belonging to Henslowe's company, very shortly afterwards (p. 276).

We know not where nor when Armyn was buried, for his name is not found in one of the parish registers we have been able to examine, nor does it occur in any of the token-books of Southwark. We are utterly destitute of information whether he had been married, or whether he left behind him any family. His will was sought in vain by Chalmers, and our more recent inquiries have not led to the discovery of it; nor is it known that letters of administration were taken out for such effects as he may have left behind him. Had he died in any of the parishes in or near which our old theatres were situated, his burial would probably have been registered there, and we should have met with the record.

And say (sith he sittes quite beside the stoole),
 Looke on the foole, that cannot kill a foole!
 For I, poor Meece, that was a foole to Death,
 Have made Death now my foole, ev'n with a breath."

WILLIAM OSTLER.

He was one of "the Children of the Queen's Chapel" in 1601, when he played with Field, Pavy, Underwood, and others in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster:" as he had no part in the same dramatist's "Cynthia's Revels," in 1600, represented by the same juvenile company, we may infer, perhaps, that in 1601 he had been recently taken into the association.

Anterior to April, 1604, he seems to have been drafted into his Majesty's players, possibly as a young man to sustain female characters: his name is spelt Hostler in a list of "the King's company" at that date,¹ and no Christian name is given; but doubtless it was the same performer, as there were not two Ostlers on the stage at the same time. He had nothing to do in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus" in 1603; at least, he is not mentioned by the author at the end of the play in the folio of 1616: the earliest date at which his name appears, on the authority of Ben Jonson, as one of "the King's Majesty's servants," is 1610, when Ostler is introduced as a "principal comedian" in "The Alchemist." In the next year he had a part in "Catiline," most probably a male one; but when Malone asserts positively that it was so, he does it without more evidence than is to be derived from Ostler's place in the author's list of the chief actors.

Before this time Ostler must have been an applauded and popular performer, or Davies of Hereford would not have addressed him in his "Scourge of Folly," (printed, as already mentioned, about 1611) as "the Roscius of these times." Davies was, no doubt, acquainted with him, and in all theatrical eulogies,

¹ Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 68.

whether of our own or of former times, considerable allowance must be made for the partiality of friendship. The lines by Davies were referred to by Malone, but have not been quoted anywhere, that we recollect, and to us we own that they are not by any means intelligible: however, we subjoin them literally, in the hope that the reader will make more sense out of them than we can:—

TO THE ROSCIUS OF THESE TIMES, MR. W. OSTLER.

Ostler, thou took'st a knock thou would'st have giv'n,
 Neere sent thee to thy latest home: but, O!
 Where was thine action, when thy crown was riv'n,
 Sole King of Actors? then wast idle? No:
 Thou hadst it, for thou wouldst bee doing. Thus
 Good actors' deeds are oft most dangerous;
 But if thou plaist thy dying part as well
 As thy stage parts, thou hast no part in hell.¹

Hence we might gather that an assault had been committed upon Ostler, and that he brought an action against his assailant. The "epigram," for such it is called, was perhaps understood at the time, but Davies seems now and then to have prided himself on being obscure.

Ostler was married before 1612, but where and to whom we have not been able to discover.² He had a son christened at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, in the spring of 1612, and he named it Beaumont, probably after the dramatic poet, who may have stood godfather to it. The entry in the register is

¹ We are indebted to the Rev. Joseph Hunter for this extract from a rare book in his library: the title of it is "The Scourge of Folly. Consisting of Satyricall Epigrams, &c. At London, printed by E. A., for Richard Redmer, sould at his shop at the west gate of Paules."

² A John Ostler and Margaret Dickinson were married on 15th Feb., 1612, at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, but we have no means of tracing any relationship, beyond the name.

in these terms, and it was not usual there to specify the occupation of the parent :—

Baptized 18 May, 1612. Beaumont, the sonne of William Ostler ¹

It is to be remarked that Ostler was an actor in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Captain," "Bonduca," "Valentinian," and no doubt in other plays, though his name be not found at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ* in the folios. We suspect that he had no more children, and we find no trace of any in the registers of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, or the adjoining parishes.² The name of Ostler, or Hostler, was known in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, but not in any instance with the Christian name of William prefixed. "Margaret, the wife of John Ostler," was buried at St. Leonard's, from Holywell Street, where so many actors resided, in 1622; but she could hardly have been the widow of the John Ostler who was interred at St. Botolph's in 1574.

It is quite certain that Ostler was lost to the stage before 1623, although Malone hastily concluded that he was still an actor in that year—"He acted Antonio in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, in 1623."³ The evidence referred to proves precisely the contrary: the tragedy was printed in 1623, as it had been revived the year before, having been originally produced about 1616.⁴ To the printed copy is prefixed a very

¹ This memorandum escaped Malone and Chalmers, when making their searches respecting the families of Heminge and Condell.

² The Joan Osteler who was buried at St. Botolph on 14 July, 1603, was a grown woman, as her age is inserted in the margin of the register. Robert, the son of Vincent Ostler, was baptized on 30 July, 1603.

³ Malone's *Shaksp.* by Boswell, iii., 213. Chalmers falls precisely into the same error as Malone, whom he copies almost verbally in other respects. *Suppl. Apology*, p. 170.

⁴ This is Malone's own date, and probably the correct one, though not for the reason he assigns. See note on "*Union of Athens*," act iii., scene 3. The only certain point at which we can arrive is that "The

unusual list of the original actors in the several parts, and of those who had been substituted and sustained them on the revival : thus in the case of Ostler we read :—

Antonio Bologna,	}	1. W. Ostler. 2. R. Benfield.
Steward of the house-		
hold to the Duchess.		

The meaning being, that in the first instance, when the tragedy was brought out about 1616, Ostler was Antonio, but that when it was revived, perhaps in 1622, (Ostler being dead, or having retired from the stage) the character had been assigned to R. Benfield. In our memoir of Condell we have stated, as one of our reasons for thinking that he had withdrawn from the more public duties of the profession in 1623, that he had relinquished the character of the Cardinal, in “The Duchess of Malfi,” to R. Robinson. On the same grounds we conclude that Ostler was at this date lost to the stage, either by death or retirement, for afterwards we never hear of him in connexion with the King’s players, or any other company. We have not been able to discover the registration of the death of Ostler in the parishes in which our old actors commonly resided. Perhaps he came from the country, and retired to the country.

“Duchess of Malfi” was originally acted before the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619, because he had the part of Ferdinand in it, which in 1623 was in the hands of Joseph Taylor.

NATHAN FIELD.

It is a new fact in the history of Nathan (or, as it is sometimes written, Nathaniel) Field,¹ that although a distinguished player, second perhaps only to Burbadge, and a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's dramas, he was the son of a puritanical preacher of much popularity, and one of the earliest as well as one of the bitterest enemies of theatrical performances. Malone and Chalmers, by their brief notices, appear to have known nothing of Field until the year 1600, when he sustained a part in "Cynthia's Revels;"² but we are able to carry on his history from his birth to his death, and we are also in a condition to show, for the first time, that he was married, and had a family.

He was born in the year 1587, in the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, as the following extract from the register establishes:—

Christened: Nathan Fielde, sonne of John Fielde, preacher, 17 October, 1587.

There is, as we have stated, a question, whether his real name were Nathan, as it stands in the register, or Nathaniel; and it is quite certain that his father, on 13th June, 1581,

¹ For the satisfaction of those who may think it of importance to know how names were spelt of old, it may be observed that Field went through the following varieties of orthography—Feld, Felde, Feild, Field, Feilde, Feelde, and Fielde: it is found in nearly all these forms in the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

² Malone (Shakspeare by Boswell, iii., 213) tells us, that "Cynthia's Revels" was originally performed in 1601, but this is an error: Ben Jonson himself asserts that it was "first acted in the year 1600."

had a son, christened Nathaniel, who died before 1587; and we take it, that this second boy was named in memory of the first, and that the entry, therefore, ought to have been not "Nathan," but Nathaniel.¹ Our actor must have been, at least, John Field's seventh child: "Dorcas Field, daughter of John Field, minister," was baptized 7th May, 1570; John Field, the son of John Field, minister," was baptized 4th January, 1572; "Theophilus Field, son of John Field," was baptized 22nd January, 1574; "Jonathan Field, son of John Field, minister," was baptized 13th May, 1577; "Nathaniel Field, son of John Field, preacher," was baptized, as we have stated, 13th June, 1581; and "Elizabeth Field, daughter of John Field, clerk," was baptized 2nd February, 1583.² He seems to have had no increase of his family from that date until the birth of the subject of our memoir; and he did not live to witness the evil course his youngest son was destined to run: the Rev. John Field died in the spring of 1587-8, and was buried at his parish church, as is evidenced by the subsequent registration:—

John Fielde, preacher, was buried the 26th March, 1587.

It was he who, in November 1581, had written a letter to the Earl of Leicester, preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum,³ reviling him for having interfered "in

¹ During his career, he seems to have been indifferently called Nathan and Nathaniel: he was baptized Nathan, and buried Nathaniel, as will be seen at the close of our memoir. His familiar appellation was Nat. Field, and so he subscribes a note to P. Henslowe, of which we shall speak hereafter.

² She died and was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on the 14th June, 1603, as appears by the register. Her sister Dorcas was married to Edward Ryce (as we learn from the Cripplegate records) on the 9th November, 1590.

³ Titus, B. vii., fol. 22. A quotation from it, with a fac-simile of Field's handwriting, may be seen in "The History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 253.

the behalf of evil men, as of late you did for players, to the great grief of all the godly," and adjuring him not to encourage "those wickednesses and abuses that are wont to be nourished by those impure interludes and plays." This seems to have been a private communication to the Earl; but two years afterwards this zealous "minister," "clerk," and "preacher," as he is termed in the registers, took advantage of a fatal accident that happened at Paris Garden (not then a theatre) to publish a violent and virulent attack upon all theatrical performances.¹

Nathan, Nathaniel, or Nat. Field, as we shall show ere long, was a man of very considerable talents as an author, besides being one of the most celebrated actors of his day. Where and by whom he was educated it is impossible to state: he seems to have had some pretensions to scholarship; but, if he went to school, he must have been taken or diverted from it early, for he was not more than about thirteen when we first hear of him on the stage: he was then, as we have mentioned, an actor in Ben Jonson's "comical satire," as one of the performers of the juvenile company called "the Children of the Queen's Chapel." It is not at all unlikely that attention was paid, under public authority, to the education of these boy-players, selected and retained for her Majesty's amusement: even at that day it could hardly have been thought that a boy of thirteen was sufficiently informed for any profession, and, in the intervals of the public and private

¹ Under the following title: "A Godly exhortation by occasion of the late judgement of God shewed at Parris-garden, the thirteenth day of Januarie: where were assembled, by estimation, above a thousand persons, whereof some were slaine, and of that number at the least, as is credibly reported, the thirde person maimed and hurt. Given to all estates for their instruction, concerning the keeping of the Sabbath day. By John Field, Minister of the word of God. Published by Authoritie. At London Printed by Robert Waldegrave, dwelling without Temple-barre, for Henry Carre, in Paule's Churchyard. 1583." 8vo

exhibitions, instruction may have been given to the theatrical children. Field was a favourite with Ben Jonson; and that great and learned poet may, for aught we know, have interested himself in the education of a youth of so much promise, and to whose exertions he was much indebted.

As in the case of Lowin, at a more mature period of life, so in the case of Field, who was about eleven years younger, the establishment and opening of a new playhouse in the parish in which they were born may have had a powerful influence on their minds, and to this fact may possibly be attributed their subsequent connexion with the stage. Samuel Daniel, the poet, was appointed, very early in the reign of James I., to inspect and approve the productions to be represented by the Children of the Queen's Revels (as the Children of the Chapel were then called), and the company was under the control and management of persons of the names of Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne. We only know of what members this juvenile association consisted, in 1600, from Ben Jonson, who gives the following list of six "principal comedians" concerned in acting his "Cynthia's Revels" in that year—Nat. Field, Sal. Pavy, Tho. Day, Joh. Underwood, Rob. Baxter, and Joh. Frost.

We are entitled, perhaps, to assume, from the place his name occupies, that Field was the leading actor of the company; and in the next year, when they represented the same dramatist's "Poetaster," he held the same position: three of his coadjutors had played with him in "Cynthia's Revels;" but instead of Baxter and Frost, Will. Ostler and Tho. Marton were substituted in the performance of "The Poetaster."

The next we hear of Field is as the representative of the arduous character of Bussy d'Ambois, in Chapman's popular tragedy of that name: it was printed in 1607, and may have been first performed in the preceding year.¹ To Field's

¹ Chalmers, in his Suppl. "Apology," p. 171, says, "In 1607 Field acted the part of Bussy d'Ambois in Chapman's drama;" but that was the year

personation of this hero we shall have occasion to recur, but we are entirely ignorant who were his associates. When Ben Jonson's "Epicœne" was brought out "by the Children of her Majesty's Revels" in 1609, excepting that of Field, we do not meet, in the list furnished by the author, with a single name that had before occurred as actors in his dramas: the "principal comedians" were then these—Nat. Field, Gil. Carie, Hug. Attawel, Joh. Smith, Will. Barksted, Will. Pen, Ric. Allen, and Joh. Blaney. Ostler and Day had joined the King's players in 1604: Underwood took the same course (we know that he had done so before 1610), and others of Field's early "fellows" had either quitted the stage, from having outgrown their youthful characters, had joined other companies, or had died.

It is very clear that Field had not become one of the King's players in 1611, or his name must assuredly have been found among the ten "principal tragedians" in Ben Jonson's "Cati-line," brought out in that year: and we apprehend, for reasons we shall assign presently, that he did not permanently belong to that company until five years afterwards.

We have already stated that Field, like many other actors of his day, became an author, and his first play, "A Woman is a Weathercock," must have been represented about 1610: it was printed in 1612, and it purports, on the title-page, to have been "acted before the King at Whitehall, and divers times privately at the Whitefriars by the Children of her Majesty's Revels." Of this company we have no doubt Field still remained a member, notwithstanding he was in his twenty-third year. According to his portrait, preserved at

in which the play was printed, not when it was first acted. If we fix the production of the play in 1606, we take the latest date that can with any probability be assigned to it: it seldom happened that a play was printed so soon as a year after it was brought out at a theatre. Bussy d'Ambois was entered for publication in the Stationers' Company's books, 3rd June, 1607.

Dulwich, and not long since engraved, he had a peculiarly smooth and feminine look, with no whiskers, and on this account he may not have been disqualified, as soon as many others, for acting with his juniors: it is to be recollected also, that theatrical "children" often continued to be so called after they had reached maturity: even full-grown recruits seem sometimes to have been added to their numbers, who were also designated "children." It is most likely that Field took a character in "A Woman is a Weathercock," as well as in his "Amends for Ladies" (acted about 1612, and printed in 1618 and 1639), of which we shall shortly have more to say. The first was performed at the private theatre in the Whitefriars, which the company of the Children of the Queen's Revels then occupied; but the second was brought out at the Blackfriars theatre, at the time when it was employed by the actors of Prince Henry and of the Princess Elizabeth, as well as by the King's players. While the King's players, during the summer, were performing at the Globe, they seem to have allowed other associations to use the Blackfriars theatre.

Ben Jonson's tribute to Field, in 1614, as the Burbadge of his company (the Princess Elizabeth's servants) we have already quoted in our memoir of the most celebrated of the performers in Shakespeare's plays (p. 41). In R. Flecknoe's "Short Discourse of the English Stage," printed at the end of his "Love's Kingdom," in 1664, the names of Burbadge and Field are coupled, as if at least of equal merit and celebrity, the name of the younger actor having, in fact, precedence:—"In this time," says Flecknoe, "were poets and actors in their greatest flourish; Jonson and Shakespeare, with Beaumont and Fletcher, their poets, and Field and Burbadge, their actors." In a subsequent part of the same tract, he again mentions them, and in the same order.

Malone states that Field performed female parts at the Globe and Blackfriars, after he had joined the King's players;

and he adds, "when he became too manly to act the characters of women, he played the part of Bussy d'Ambois;"¹ but Bussy d'Ambois, as we have already mentioned, was played by Field before 1607, when the tragedy was printed, and while he was one of the children of the Revels to Queen Anne; so that, according to Malone, Field was then disqualified from sustaining female characters. He certainly did not become, for any continuance, one of the servants of King James until after 1614, when, as we have seen, he was a member of the company playing under the patronage of the Princess Elizabeth, and about twenty-seven years old: we may reasonably doubt, therefore, whether he ever acted any of the more feminine female characters in the works of our great dramatist: if he were manly enough for Bussy d'Ambois before 1607, he would be too manly for Juliet, or Desdemona, or Imogen, in 1615, although, of course, some women's parts could be pointed out in Shakespeare's plays that would admit of a more masculine representative.

Field could not have belonged permanently to the King's players until after the production of Ben Jonson's "*Bartholomew Fair*:" in 1613 he seems to have joined them for a very short time; but our belief is that a lasting change of his associates did not take place until three or four years anterior to the death of Burbadge, in March, 1619: consequently, Field never played originally in any of Shakespeare's dramas, but we find him assisting Burbadge in the representation of several by Beaumont and Fletcher, such as "*The Knight of Malta*," "*The Queen of Corinth*," "*The Loyal Subject*," "*The Mad Lover*," &c.

The players of the Princess Elizabeth, some time after her marriage, became the dramatic servants of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, under the management of Henslowe and Alleyn. Among the papers of the latter, yet preserved at Dulwich College, are various scraps of notes which passed between Henslowe and the authors or actors in his pay and employ: these

¹ *Shakespeare* by Boswell, iii., 213.

are generally dated in 1613 and 1614, and among them are three in which Field was importantly concerned: they are unluckily all without date, but they refer to circumstances and transactions which sufficiently show that they belong to the period we have named. One of these, printed precisely as it stands in Field's autograph, will be found in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,"¹ and two others, also accurately given from the originals, are inserted in "The Alleyn Papers,"² published by the Shakespeare Society. The first of these (it is unnecessary to reprint them here) relates to the pecuniary distresses of Field, Massinger, and Daborne, who were then writing, in conjunction, a play for Henslowe's company, of whom, we may conclude, Field was then one: the second proves that Field and Daborne were engaged upon another play, and desired to have £10 of the purchase-money in hand; and the third, from Field only, urges a loan of £10, in order that he might be freed from arrest, and continue his performances with the company: in this letter, Field also speaks of himself as a sharer in the receipts, the then usual mode of paying actors; and as he was a performer of so much distinction, and as theatrical affairs were then prosperous, the correspondence seems to establish that Field must have been very improvident, or with such resources he would not have been in poverty. These documents, as we think, conclusively show that in 1614 Field was not a member of the company of the King's players.

To the same effect we may notice another instrument, printed for the first time in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 118, being the copy of an agreement between Henslowe and Jacob Meade, (who in 1614, at the latest, had fitted up a stage at Paris Garden, so that it might be used either as a place for baiting bears, &c., or for the representation of plays) and Field, who seems in some respects to have represented and acted on

¹ Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 120.

² The Alleyn Papers, pp. 48, 65.

behalf of the rest of the company. Henslowe and Meade wished to raise a separate body of actors for their new undertaking, and with this object they resorted, as far as we can judge, to Field, as an influential performer, and entered into certain conditions with him, which it is needless here to repeat. One important clause is, that the agreement should remain in force for three years ;¹ and supposing it to have been entered into in 1614, in contemplation of the immediate opening of Paris Garden, for the double purpose we have described. and supposing it to have been adhered to by the parties, Field would not be disengaged, so as to be able to join the King's players, until 1617. On 11th June, 1615, he had a warrant for himself and his fellows for £10, for performing " Bartholomew Fair " before the King on November 1st, the very day after it had been produced at the Hope theatre, according to the testimony of the author himself in the Induction. This is decisive evidence that Field remained a member of a rival company in the summer of 1615. We apprehend (for it is impossible to speak decisively) that he did not enter into a permanent engagement with Burbadge, Heminge, Condell, and the rest of that company, until after 1616.

We have seen that in 1613 and 1614, as well as the dates can be ascertained from extrinsic circumstances, Field was

¹ During this interval, (the precise dates are not very clearly ascertainable) Henslowe had differences with his company, and various grounds of complaint were drawn up by some of the members, which were formerly preserved at Dulwich College. These may be seen in "The Alleyn Papers," p. 78; but it appears that Field was not a party to them, as Henslowe thought it worth while to satisfy his claims, if not those of Taylor and another actor of the name of Baxter. It seems that Field would not consent to the sacrifice of his share of £50 due from Henslowe to the company, in consequence of which he satisfied Field, but left the rest of his associates to their remedy. The consequence must have been a temporary interruption of dramatic performances at Paris Garden.

much in want of money ; but, if we may take his word for it, such does not seem to have been the case in 1612, when he printed his play, “ Woman is a Weathercock.” It was usual at that date for authors to procure sums for dedications ; but Field, instead of inscribing it to any individual, who might have rewarded him for the distinction, addressed it “ to any Woman that hath been no Weathercock,” and boastingly asserted that he did so, “ because forty shillings I care not for.” Whatever might be his circumstances in 1612, he had good reason, in 1613 and 1614, to care for even a smaller sum than forty shillings ; and we need not doubt that his thoughtlessness and extravagance kept him poor, in spite of the income he was able to earn as an actor, besides the additions he could make to it as an author. When “ Woman is a Weathercock ” was printed, it was preceded by commendatory verses by Chapman, who had been bound to Field for his excellent and popular performance of “ Bussy d’Ambois ” and other plays, and who affectionately terms him “ his loved son.” It was common at that period for elder poets to allow younger men to address them as “ father : ” such was the poetical relationship between Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, and James Howell ; and Field even writes to old Henslowe (who was certainly no poet) as his father, and subscribes two out of his three existing epistles “ your loving son.”

Although “ Woman is a Weathercock ” was Field’s earliest play, it was not his earliest production. Fletcher’s “ Faithful Shepherdess ” was brought out not later than 1610, and printed without date some years afterwards : it was preceded by four copies of commendatory verses, the first in order, and not the last in merit, being six stanzas by Field. They are subscribed only N. F. in the earliest quarto, (a trifling particular with which the Rev. Mr. Dyce does not appear to have been acquainted ¹) but when they were reprinted, “ Nat. Field ” is found appended to them. There can be no doubt that he

¹ Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, ii., p. 7.

was on the most intimate and friendly terms with the dramatic poets of his day ; and it may be conjectured, that it was soon after he had displayed his own capabilities as a writer of plays that he joined Massinger in the composition of "The Fatal Dowry." Gifford, as has been remarked, "with that zeal for the author under his hands that always distinguished him,"¹ would undervalue Field's contributions to this play, and attribute to him all the parts he considered inferior to Massinger ; but the two pieces which have come down to us, in which Field was unassisted, show that he was possessed of no small skill as a dramatist, and of no ordinary powers as a poet.

"Amends for Ladies" is even superior to "Woman is a Weathercock," to which it may be said to form a kind of sequel ; but it is not our business here to enter into any criticism upon them, to compare them with each other, or with contemporaneous productions for the stage. "Amends for Ladies," in which the writer endeavoured to compensate for the satirical attack upon the female sex in his earlier play, was, as we have already stated, not published until 1618, but that it was in being, and had probably been acted, before 1612, we have the author's own evidence, in the preliminary matter to his "Woman is a Weathercock," where he tells "any Woman that hath been no Weathercock" that, "if she have been constant, and be so, all I will expect from her for my pains is, that she will continue so but *till my next play be printed*, wherein she shall see *what amends I have made to her and all the sex*." There is an authority which may throw back the composition of "Amends for Ladies" to 1609 or 1610, and

¹ See note to the introduction to "Woman is a Weathercock," printed with four other dramas in a supplementary volume to "Dodsley's Old Plays," in 1829. One of the four other dramas is Field's "Amends for Ladies." As every reader is thus enabled to judge of their merits, it has not been thought necessary to swell our volume by any detailed examination of them.

consequently “Woman is a Weathercock” to even an earlier date.¹ We allude to a passage in Anthony Stafford’s “Admonition to a discontented Romanist,” in his “Niobe dissolved into a Nilus,” 1611, 12mo., where he says, in apparent allusion to the title of Field’s second play, “No, no, sir: I will never write an *Amends for Women*, till I see women amended.”

From his portrait, and from other circumstances, we may judge that he was what the ladies, in the time of Wycherley and later, would have called “a pretty fellow;” and he was probably a considerable favourite with the fair sex. In a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, and in other common-place books of the reign of James I. and Charles I., we meet with the following punning epigram, which evidently relates to some undue familiarity between Field and a lady, who is there called “the Lady May,” but respecting whom we have no farther information: it is entitled as if Field had been the writer of the lines, but they contradict the supposition.

FIELD, THE PLAYER, ON HIS MISTRESS, THE LADY MAY.

It is the fair and merry month of May,
That clothes the Field in all his rich array,
Adorning him with colours better dyed
Than any king can wear, or any bride.
But May is almost spent, the Field grows dun
With too much gazing on that May’s hot sun;
And if mild Zephyrus, with gentle wind,
Vouchsafe not his calm breath, and the clouds kind
Distil their honey-drops, his heat to ’lay,
Poor Field will burn e’en in the midst of May.

John Taylor, the water-poet, has inserted a joke in his “Wit and Mirth,” printed without date, but about 1620, in

¹ In his address “to the Reader,” before his “Woman is a Weathercock,” Field uses this expression—“I send you a comedy here as good as I could *then* make,” as if it had been written some time before.

which Field is made a party, and in which he is represented as riding through the streets of London: it runs thus —“ Master Field, the playor, riding up Fleet-street a great pace, a gentleman called to him, and asked him what play was played that day? He (being angry to be stayed on so frivolous a demand) answered, that he might see what play was to be played upon every *post*. “ I cry you mercy (said the gentleman); I took you for a *post*, you rode so fast.” This “ quiblet,” as Taylor calls it, and which he was perhaps the first to publish, afterwards ran the gauntlet of various jest-books: it was stolen, among others, by the collector of “ Hugh Peters’ Jests,” and finally made its appearance in “ Westminster Quibbles,” printed late in the seventeenth century, where it is attributed to an actor of the name of Wallop. It did not cease to be repeated, until the practice of exposing playbills on posts became generally discontinued.

We have shown that Field was probably in full feather, and not in want of money, when he published his “ Woman is a Weathercock,” in 1612; and it seems likely, from an expression in the address “ to the reader” before the same play, that at that date he did not contemplate remaining long on the stage: “ if (he observes) thou hast anything to say to me, thou knowest where to hear of me *for a year or two, and no more*, I assure thee.” We may speculate that his indiscretion, and his inability to obtain a subsistence independently of the stage, induced him to continue upon it; and accordingly we have seen him attaching himself to Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, when it was made convertible into a playhouse about 1614, and we may presume that he was the leader of their company at least until 1617, when his agreement with them would expire.

Field having played with Burbadge in several of Beaumont and Fletcher’s plays, in which he was an original performer, that is to say, had no predecessor in the parts he undertook, we may be sure that he had firmly attached himself to the King’s players

some time before 1619, which is the earliest date at which his name occurs in any extant patent. Burbadge was just dead at the time it was granted ; but, as we have noticed in his memoir, (p. 47) his name was nevertheless accidentally included in the enumeration of the royal actors. We give the complete list, in order that the position Field occupies in it may be clearly seen : it was by no means prominent, and he is postponed even to Tooley and Underwood, the former of whom never arrived at any considerable distinction, while the latter had been one of Field's contemporaries nineteen years before, in the performance of " Cynthia's Revels :"

John Heminge.	Nathan Field.
Richard Burbadge.	Robert Benfield.
Henry Condell.	Robert Gough.
John Lowin.	William Ecclestone.
Nicholas Tooley.	Richard Robinson.
John Underwood.	John Shank.

All these, and more, are found at the commencement of the folio of Shakespeare's works in 1623 : of five we have already inserted in our volume such particulars as are known, and of the rest we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, so that we need not now pause to criticize any of them, or to enter into conjectures why some are placed later in the enumeration than would seem due to their rank. One of these is unquestionably Field, who perhaps lost some ground in the profession during the three years he was under Henslowe, when he was disputing with the old manager, and when he was evidently struggling against poverty, perhaps occasioned by his own extravagance and irregularity.

From the registers of St. Anne and St. Andrew, Blackfriars (which Malone and Chalmers never consulted, although a parish where it is natural to suppose some of our early actors would reside), we learn that Field must have been married before 1619, because he had a daughter baptized on

the 9th September of that year: the entry also ascertains the Christian name of his wife—

Baptized: Alice Field, daughter to Nathan and Anne, 9th September, 1619.

We have failed to discover where the marriage took place—certainly not in any of the districts where our old theatres were situated, and the parties were most likely united at the parish church of the lady, wherever that might be, in town or country. We apprehend that Field took to himself the expensive commodity of a wife soon after he became one of the King's players, and when he enjoyed larger emoluments than he had obtained under Henslowe. If we may believe an epigram written about this time, and handed down to us in MS.,¹ Field was of a jealous turn of mind; and it leads us to remark upon the probability that Burbadge, some time before his death, had relinquished to Field the part of Othello: at all events Field, according to the epigrammatist, had played the character, and it may have been one of those which Burbadge, as he advanced in years, allowed younger performers to undertake.² The lines to which we allude are the following:—

DE AGELLO ET OTHELLO.

Field is, in sooth, an actor—all men know it,
And is the true Othello of the poet.
I wonder if 'tis true, as people tell us,
That, like the character, he is most jealous.
If it be so, and many living swear it,
It takes not little from the actor's merit,
Since, as the Moore is jealous of his wife,
Field can display the passion to the life.

¹ The original was sold among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Heber.

² Wright (*Historia Histrionica*) informs us that "Swanston used to play Othello:" this was, of course, at a date subsequent to the relinquishment of the part, from whatever cause, by Field. Had Swanston taken

He was clearly married at the date when this piece of ill-nature was penned, and we have just shown that the first child, regarding which we have any information, was born in the autumn of 1619. One of his brothers had the name of Theophilus, and it was given to Field's next child, baptized at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, on 12th January, 1620; but it lived only about three years, and was buried on 2nd February, 1623. A son, christened after himself, was carried to the font on 4th August, 1622. A "daughter of Nathan and Anne Field" was named after the mother on 8th July, 1625, but it was buried on the 16th of the same month, and was replaced by another Anne on 20th July, 1627. If they had any more offspring, they were not baptized, nor buried, at St. Anne's or St. Andrew's.

We may feel assured that Field had retired from the profession in 1625, and probably before 1623, although in the latter year he was not more than thirty-six. Our reason for concluding that he had left the stage in 1625 is, that his name is not found in the patent of Charles I. when he came to the throne: our reason for thinking that he had disappeared from the scene before 1623 is, that he was not one of the performers so important a character before 1623, his name would, we should think, have been certain to find a place in the list of actors preceding the first folio of Shakespear's works.

Wright also states, that after the closing of the theatres "Swanston professed himself a Presbyterian, took up the trade of a jeweller, and lived in Aldermanbury." The fact is, that Iliard, or Hiliard Swanston, had resided, for many years before the breaking out of the civil wars, in Aldermanbury, where Heminge and Condell also lived. The registers, which Malone and Chalmers examined without meeting with Swanston's name, contain many entries of the birth of his children, beginning in 1622, and ending in 1638, after which date we hear no more of him in the parish. The register does not state in any instance his business or profession, and it may be suspected that he carried on the trade of a jeweller in Aldermanbury while he was on the stage, to which he was attached, as one of the players at the Phoenix in 1621, if not earlier.

in Webster's "*Duchess of Malfi*," when it was revived shortly prior to that date. Had he been available, we cannot believe that an actor of such eminence would have been omitted from the cast. He did not belong to the company when the tragedy was first produced.

We have now little more to do than to record our actor's death, which took place about five years and a half after the birth of the last child regarding which we have any memorial: his interment is thus registered at St. Anne's, in which parish he resided to the last:—

Buried: Nathanael Feild, 20 Feb., 1632.

Taking, of course, 20th February, 1632, as 20th February, 1633, according to our present reckoning, Field was only between forty-five and forty-six years old at the time of his death. He left behind him a widow and three children, the eldest not fourteen, and the youngest not six years old; but regarding them, and their future progress in the world, we have been able to obtain no intelligence: neither have we discovered how long the widow survived her husband.¹

Malone, in the few lines he wrote about Field, was obliged to content himself with supposing that he was dead in 1641;² and Chalmers says, "he died before the year 1641, though I have not been able to discover either his will, or the date of his burial."³ The truth is, that they never looked in the most likely place to find the register of his interment, and were satisfied with the following extract from the prologue prefixed to the edition of Chapman's "*Bussy d'Ambois*," in 1641:—

Field is gone,

Whose action first did give it name;

¹ If the following entry, in the register of St. Anne's, relate to her, she was living in 1637:—

"William Edwards, from widow Field's, buried 1st September, 1637."

² "*Shakespeare*" by Boswell, iii., 213.

³ "*Suppl. Apology for the Believers*," p. 172.

alluding to the original personation of the hero by our actor, when yet a boy, which we have already mentioned.

The printer of the earliest impressions of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," and "Lucrece," was Richard Field—"London, Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard;" and it has been conjectured that Shakespeare had been induced to employ him, because he, or his family, came from Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1592, the father of our great dramatist was appointed, with two others, to value the goods of a person of the name of "Henry Feelde, of Stratford, tanner,"¹ and he may possibly have been the father of Richard Field, the printer. Whether this speculation be or be not well founded, we may add here, not inappropriately, that Richard Field lived in Blackfriars, while he carried on his business in St. Paul's Church-yard; and there we find his marriage thus registered, five years before he printed "Venus and Adonis:"—

Married: Richard Field to Jacklin Vautrillian, 12 Jan., 1588.

We give the names exactly as they stand in the entry; but Jacklin Vautrillian, perhaps, ought properly to have been written Jaqueline Vautrollier, one of the daughters of the eminent printer who himself lived in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and had relations also in Southwark, as is testified by the registers of those parishes. We have failed in tracing any relationship between Nathan Field, the actor, and Richard Field, the printer, but they were neighbours, living in the same small liberty of the Blackfriars.

¹ Collier's "Shakespeare," i., cxlii.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Judging from the number and variety of plays in which the services of Underwood were required, he must have been a very useful actor; but, as in the case of many of his "fellows," we have, with one exception, no means of knowing at all certainly what parts he sustained, nor, indeed, what was the character and class of his performances, whether high or low, serious or comic, or whether he excelled in both departments. Scarcely a new drama seems to have been produced, during the period when he was connected with the stage, in which his assistance was not deemed necessary. In Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, he is mentioned in company with Field;¹ but although he may have been as often, he certainly never was as prominently employed. We do not find him spoken of by any writer of his time, so that we may presume he never arrived at any great degree of distinction or popularity.

We are unable to give the date or place of his birth, but it seems by the register of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, (the parish adjoining St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, where so many actors lived and died) that his father and mother (as we suppose them to have been) were married in 1579-80:—

John Underwood and Ellinor White were married 17th Jan., 1579, with license.

Our first tidings of Underwood as an actor are in 1600, when,

¹ Wright is referring to the change that took place among the juvenile performers as they advanced in life:—"Some of these chapel-boys, when they grew men, became actors at the Blackfriars: such were Nathan Field and John Underwood."

as one of the Children of the Queen's Chapel, he was concerned in the representation of Ben Jonson's "Cynthia's Revels."¹ We know that at that date Field, who performed with him, was not fourteen years old, and perhaps Underwood was not older: of course, this supposition would place his birth about 1587, seven years after the union of his father and mother, if such they were. The other "principal comedians" in "Cynthia's Revels" were Salathiel Pavy, Robert Baxter, Thomas Day, and John Frost; and the names were arranged by Ben Jonson, as if Field and Underwood were the chief supporters of his "comical Satire:"—

Nat. Field.	}	{	Joh. Underwood.
Sal. Pavy.			Rob. Baxter.
Tho. Day.			Joh. Frost.

Unless some of them doubled their parts, and it is not at all unlikely, twenty-three actors were engaged in the drama, out of whom Ben Jonson only selected six, for distinction, in his list at the end of the printed copy in the folio of 1616. In 1601, when Underwood had a part in Ben Jonson's "Poetaster," the author placed the names of the six "principal comedians" in the same manner, substituting William Ostler and Thomas Marton for Baxter and Frost.

We take it that Underwood was included in the association which acted Shakespeare's plays some years before Field joined it: Underwood's name is not found with Field's in the list of eight Children of the Queen's Revels, who had been engaged in producing Ben Jonson's "Epicœne," in 1609; and in the next

¹ In a note in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 166, two errors respecting Underwood are committed, viz., where it is said that he is first heard of in 1601; and that he had become one of the King's servants in 1620. He is first heard of in 1600, and he had become one of the King's servants before 1610. The note has reference to Henry Underwood, a scrivener, employed by Alleyn, who was perhaps related to our actor.

year he certainly had a part in "The Alchemist," which was originally brought out by the King's players. Field's name does not appear there; and in our memoir of him we have assigned our reasons for believing that he did not permanently become one of the King's players until 1616. Underwood acted also in "Catiline" in 1611, but the place his name occupies among his ten associates, both in "The Alchemist" and "Catiline," does not indicate that he had a prominent or important character in either drama.

Perhaps he married about the date when he joined the King's players, but we have not met with any registration of the event. At the time of his death, about fifteen years afterwards, he was a widower, and the father of five children then living; and it is very possible that money he obtained with his wife enabled him (as in the case of Lowin) to purchase an interest in the receipts at the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, about 1609. He was also the owner of shares in the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch, and these may have come to him with his wife, or he may have subsequently bought them with his professional savings. It will be remembered that Pope, at the time of his death early in 1604, was entitled to shares in the Curtain and Globe, if not in the Rose. Whether Pope and Underwood occasionally acted there is a point on which we are without evidence: it is clear, that from the time Underwood joined the King's players, until his death, he remained an active member of the company usually performing at the Globe and Blackfriars.

If, as we suppose, Underwood began to act, in the association for which Shakespeare exclusively wrote, in 1609, he could not have performed originally in many of the plays of our great dramatist. It is not, however, to be disputed that he was concerned in the first representation of most of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher, for his name is appended, with those of other members of the company, to the folio impressions of 1647 and 1679, in about twenty instances, besides

others in which the list of actors was omitted by the editors : among them are "The Little French Lawyer," "The Custom of the Country," "Bonduca," "The Knight of Malta," "Valentinian," "The Laws of Candy," "The Queen of Corinth," "The Loyal Subject," "The False One," "The Double Marriage," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "The Island Princess," "The Pilgrim," "The Sea Voyage," "The Maid in the Mill," "A Wife for a Month," &c.

Chalmers tells us that Underwood "represented Delio, in the Duchess of Malfi, in 1623 :"¹ this is a slight error, 1623 being the date when the tragedy was reprinted, on its revival, perhaps, in the preceding year ; but Chalmers also omitted to notice that Underwood had filled the same part about 1616, when "The Duchess of Malfi" was originally acted. This is the exception to which we alluded in the outset : it is the only character Underwood is known to have sustained, but it is a comparatively insignificant one, as the friend of Antonio Bologna, steward to the Duchess ; and it has not been mentioned, although it is equally indisputable, that Underwood doubled his part, and acted one of "several madmen" introduced in the course of the drama.

There is no other reason to suppose that Underwood was in bad circumstances in 1623, but that when Nicholas Tooley made his will, on 3rd June in that year, Underwood and Ecclestone were indebted to him : the sums are not specified, but Tooley "forgave" it them, apparently in lieu of legacies which he bequeathed to some others of his fellows.

We have spoken of Underwood's marriage about 1609, and John, apparently his first child, was born in December, 1610, and was thus registered at the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, West Smithfield :—

27 Dec. 1610. John, sonne of John Underwood, was baptized.

¹ Supplemental Apology, p. 173. Nicholas Tooley, who died in the summer of 1623, was one of the madmen in "The Duchess of Malfi."

Malone and Chalmers never consulted this register; and although our actor had a family of three boys and two girls, it is the only instance in which the birth of any of his children was recorded there, or indeed elsewhere, that we have been able to discover: his second boy was named Burbadge Underwood, and it is more than probable that Richard or Cuthbert Burbadge had stood godfather to it. There was a George and an Edward Underwood in the same parish, and at a subsequent date, but we cannot ascertain whether they were in any way related to John Underwood: on 1st November, 1622, "Grace, the daughter of George Underwood, by Margaret his wife," was baptized at St. Bartholomew the Less; and on 15th April, 1628, Edward Underwood was married to Joan Gybbins at the same church.

John Underwood was probably not forty at the time of his death,¹ which must have occurred soon after 10th October, 1624. Chalmers asserts that "he died in January, 1624-5," but he quotes no parish-register, or other authority, and does not pretend to inform us where he was buried. Underwood's will is dated 4th October, 1624, and he there calls himself "John Underwood, of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less," and he was then "very weak and sick in body;" but in a codicil dated 10th October, 1624, he is spoken of as "John Underwood, *late* of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew." There is hardly room to doubt, from this variation, that he had removed, for change of air perhaps, in the interval between the making of the will and the adding of the codicil: moreover, the will is in the first person, and the codicil in the third, and unsigned, because, in fact, the testator was "deceased" at the time it was drawn up, and, perhaps, dated. It is true that it was not proved until 1st February, 1624-5, but months, and even years, were then sometimes allowed to

¹ In his will he speaks of "the young years of my children;" and if John, baptized in 1610, were the eldest, he was only fourteen at the death of his father.

pass between the death of a testator and the proof of his will: Chalmers, not adverting to this circumstance, seems to have guessed that Underwood's death did not take place until January preceding the proof of his will in February. On the contrary, we may be confident that he did not survive the month of October, 1624; but our research has failed in discovering the registration of his burial, which could not have taken place at his parish church, or it would have been found in the ordinary record, at that period kept with unusual minuteness and accuracy.

It is clear, from the terms of his will, (which we subjoin from Malone) and from its containing no mention of his wife, that she had died before him. He left his young family to the especial care of his "loving and kind fellows," the King's players, and appointed Henry Condell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, his executors, and John Heminge and John Lowin overseers of his will. It was proved by Condell alone, about four months afterwards; and it will be recollected that when he died, in 1627, he solemnly charged his widow and executrix with the performance of certain incomplete trusts towards the children of his friend Underwood.

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Underwood, of the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less, in London, gent., being very weak and sick in body, but, thanks be given to Almighty God, in perfect mind and memory, do make and declare my last will and testament in manner and form following: viz., First, I commend and commit my soul to Almighty God, and my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my executors; and my worldly goods and estate, which it hath pleased the Almighty God to bless me with, I will, bequeathe, and dispose as followeth; that is to say: to and amongst my five children, namely, John Underwood, Elizabeth Underwood, Burbage Underwood, Thomas Underwood, and Isabell Underwood, (my debts and other legacies herein named paid, and my funeral and other just dues and duties discharged) all and singular my goods, household stuff, plate, and other things whatsoever in or about my now dwelling house, or elsewhere; and also all the right, title, or

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interest, part or share, that I have and enjoy at this present by lease or otherwise, or ought to have, possess, or enjoy in any manner or kind at this present, or hereafter, within the Blackfriars, London, or in the company of his Ma^{ties} servants, my loving and kind fellows, in their house there, or at the Globe, on the Bankside; and also that my part and share or due in or out of the playhouse called the Curtaine, situate in or near Holloway, in the parish of St. Leonard, London, or in any other place, to my said five children, equally and proportionably to be divided amongst them at their several ages of one and twenty years; and during their and every of their minorities, for and towards their education, maintenance, and placing in the world, according to the discretion, direction, and care which I repose in my executors. Provided always, and my true intent and meaning is, that my said executors shall not alienate, change, or alter, by sale or otherwise, directly or indirectly, any my part or share which I now have, or ought to hold, have, possess, and enjoy, in the said playhouses called the Blackfryars, the Globe on the Banckeside, and Curtaine aforementioned, or any of them, but that the increase and benefit out and from the same and every of them shall come, accrue, and arise to my said executors, as now it is to me, to the use of my said children, equally to be divided amongst them. Provided also, that if the use and increase of my said estate given (as aforesaid) to my said children, shall prove insufficient or defective, in respect of the young years of my children, for their education and placing of them as my said executors shall think meet, then my will and true meaning is, that when the eldest of my said children shall attaine to the age of one and twenty years, my said executors shall pay, or cause to be paid, unto him or her so surviving or attaining, his or her equal share of my estate so remaining undisbursed or undisposed for the uses aforesaid in their or either of their hands; and so for every or any of my said children attaining to the age aforesaid: yet if it shall appear or seem fit at the completion of my said children, every or any of them, at their said full age, or ages, which shall first happen, my estate remaining not to be equally shared or disposed amongst the rest surviving in minority, then my will is, that it shall be left to my executors, to give unto my child so attaining the age, as they shall judge will be equal to the rest surviving and accomplishing the aforesaid age; and if any of them shall die, or depart this life before they accomplish the said age, or ages, I will and bequeath their part, share, or

portion to them, him or her surviving, at the ages aforesaid, equally to be divided by my executors as aforesaid.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint my loving friends (in whom I repose my trust for performance of the premises) Henry Cundell, Thomas Sanford, and Thomas Smith, gentlemen, my executors to this my last will and testament, and do intreat my loving friends, Mr. John Heminge and John Lowyn, my fellowes, overseers of the same my last will and testament; and I give to my said executors and overseers, for their pains, (which I entreat them to accept) the sum of eleven shillings apiece, to buy them rings, to wear in remembrance of me. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred twenty four.

JOHN UNDERWOOD.

A Codicil to be annexed to the last will and testament of John Underwood, late of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, London, deceased, made the tenth day of the month of October, Anno Domini, one thousand six hundred twenty four, or thereabouts; viz., his intent and meaning was, and so he did will, dispose, and bequeath, (if his estate would thereunto extend, and it should seem convenient to his executors) these particulars following in manner and form following: *scilt*, to his daughter Elizabeth two seal rings of gold, one with a death's head, the other with a red stone in it.

To his son, John Underwood, a seal ring of gold, with an A and a B in it.

To Burbage Underwood, a seal ring with a blue stone in it.

To Isabell, one hoop ring of gold.

To his said son John, one hoop ring of gold.

To his said daughter Elizabeth, one wedding ring.

To his said son Burbage, one hoop ring, black and gold.

To his said son Thomas, one hoop ring of gold, and one gold ring with a knot.

To his said daughter Isabell, one blue sapphire, and one joint ring of gold.

To John Underwood, one half dozen of silver spoons, and one gilt spoon.

To Elizabeth, one silver spoon, and three gilt spoons.

To Burbage Underwood, his son aforenamed, one great gilt spoon, one plain bowl, and one rough bowl.

To Thomas Underwood, his son, one silver porringer, one silver taster, and one gilt spoon.

To Isabell, his said daughter, three silver spoons, two gilt spoons, and one gilt cup.

Which was so had and done before sufficient and credible witness, the said testator being of perfect mind and memory.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum una cum codicillo eidam annex. apud London, coram iudice, primo die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini, 1624, juramento Henrici Cundell, unius executor. cui, &c., de béne, &c., jurat, reservata potestate similem commissionem faciendi Thome Sandford et Thome Smith, executoribus etiam in hujusmodi testamento nominat. cum venerint eam petitem.

It no where appears who were the witnesses to the codicil, but, as we have said, it seems to have been prepared after Underwood's death occurred: we may presume, perhaps, that it bears date on the day the testator's wish was signified; and, if he had not then been *in extremis*, there appears no reason why he should not have executed it.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

In the biography of Nicholas Tooley a difficulty presents itself in the outset, and continues through the whole of his career, arising from the fact, stated in the codicil to his will, that his real name was Nicholas Wilkinson. Nevertheless, he seems all his life to have been called Tooley, and the statement that his true patronymic was Wilkinson looks like an after-thought: it stands Nicholas Tooley throughout the body of the will; but when he added the codicil, bearing date on the same day, he called himself, as uniformly, "Nicholas Wilkinson, *alias* Tooley," as if, until then, he had himself forgotten what was his real name.

It has been supposed, with some plausibility, that he came originally from Warwickshire, and it is quite certain that a Nicholas Tooley, perhaps the father of our actor, was resident in the county in 1569, his name being inserted in the muster-book of that year.¹ On the other hand, we meet with several persons of the name of Tooley in the registers of various churches in London: in 1590 John Tooley was buried at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, from Holywell Street, where so many actors at that date resided: Elias Tooley was married to Helen Webbe at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1605, and we meet with the name in the same registers nearly fifty years earlier: John Tooley had a daughter baptized at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1598; and William Rowley, the author-actor, was married to Isabel Tooley, at Cripplegate church, in 1637.² This is a new fact in the history of Rowley.

¹ See Collier's "Shakespeare," i., ci.

² The following repetitions of the two names, Nicholas and Tooley,

We are puzzled also by the repetition of the names of Nicholas Wilkinson in some of the old registers. We apprehend, for instance, that the following may be the entry of the birth of our actor at St. Anne's, Blackfriars:—

Nicholas Wilkinson, sonne to Charles Wilkinson, baptized 3 Feb., 1574.

It accords pretty exactly with what we may suppose to have been the age of Nicholas Tooley or Wilkinson; but, unless he married very early indeed, the subsequent, from the registers of St. Bartholomew-the-Less, cannot relate to the death of his wife:—

4 Feb., 1593. The wife of Nicholas Wilkinson, of London, gent., was buried.

Ten years afterwards we meet with the birth of a Nicholas Wilkinson recorded at St. Botolph, Bishopgate. If Nicholas Tooley were born in London, and were not a native of Warwickshire, the quotation we have above made, from the register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the year before the theatre was constructed there, would answer our purpose, by establishing that he was born in 1574-5.

In his will, of which we have already spoken, and which we have inserted at length at the end of our memoir, Tooley calls Richard Burbadge his "late master," and there can be no doubt that he was originally apprentice to that great actor; but whether Burbadge secured Tooley's services in Warwickshire, where he was most likely himself born, or in the metropolis, we cannot upon any evidence before us pretend to

occur, at a late date, in the register of St. Paul, Covent Garden: possibly this Tooley was a descendant from our actor:—

"William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, and of Mary, his wife, borne Ap. 7, 1655; baptized 11th."

"27 June, 1655. William, sonne of Nicholas Tooley, buried in the ch. yd."

"5 June, 1656. Mary, wife of Nicholas Tooley, buried in ch. yard.

decide. Why and how he acquired the name of Tooley, by which he was known all his life, and which he himself subscribed to the nuncupative will of his "master" in 1619, and to his own in 1623; and whether it had any and what connexion with Tooley (or St. Olave's) Street, Southwark, must remain matter for future explanation. A person of the name of William Tooley was "yeoman Lord of Misrule," in a list of the household establishment of Henry VIII.;¹ and in 1576-7 a play, called "Toolie," was represented at Hampton Court by the players of Lord Howard.²

Both Malone and Chalmers state positively, that Nicholas Tooley acted in Tarlton's plat of "the Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" before 1588, and Chalmers goes so far as to assert that Tooley acted Rhodope; but the fact is, that the performer of that part is only called "Nich," which may mean any other Nicholas besides Tooley. At the same time it is not at all unlikely to have been Tooley, then a boy, as we suppose, of thirteen or fourteen, and an apprentice to Richard Burbadge, whose name is found in the same piece. Possibly Tooley was introduced only as "Nich," because the writer of the "plat" did not know whether to call him Tooley or Wilkinson;³ but it is to be observed that in the same document we have Will, Saunder, and Ned as the Christian names of other performers.

He had advanced to the rank of one of one of the "owners and players" at the Blackfriars in 1596, when the principal members of the company addressed the privy council, in order

¹ "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," i., 96.

² Mr. P. Cunningham's "Extracts from the Revels' Accounts," p. 102.

³ He is perhaps the "Nicke" mentioned in Mrs. Alleyn's letter to her absent husband of 20th October, 1603; "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 63. Who was the "old Tooley" mentioned by Nash in his "Have with you to Saffron Waldon," in 1596, where he speaks of his pronunciation of the "neoteric tongues" professed by G. Harvey?

that they might be permitted to complete the repair and enlargement of that theatre: Nicholas Tooley's name is last in the list of eight sharers.

He was not named in the patent granted by James I. at his accession, but when that instrument was renewed and confirmed on 27th March, 1619, Tooley is placed fifth in a list of twelve performers, being preceded only by Heminge, Burbadge (who had died a few days before), Condell, and Lowin. There is no doubt that at this date Tooley was a much employed member of the association called the King's players.

What became of Tooley in the interval between 1596 and 1610 we have little information, unless he were the narrator of the anecdote of Shakespeare and Burbadge in Manningham's Diary, which belongs to the years 1601 and 1602. It is not necessary to repeat the story here,¹ and we only allude to it now, in order to mention that a person of the name of Tooley, Towley, or Towse (for the authority is very imperfectly written and blotted in the MS.) is there quoted as the person who told the incident to Manningham. It is possible that between 1596 and 1610 Tooley, like Kemp, had temporarily joined some other company; but we are to bear in mind, that when Augustine Phillips made his will, in May 1605, he left "his fellow, Nicholas Tooley," a legacy of twenty shillings, mentioning him with other members of the company of the King's players. Therefore, if Tooley retired from the association at all, he had returned to it in 1605; and our reason for imagining that he had not continued with his "master" Burbadge is, that we do not meet with his name as one of the actors in any of Ben Jonson's earlier dramas: if he played in "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour," "Sejanus," or "Volpone," he was not enumerated by their author among the "principal comedians"

¹ It was first quoted in "Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," i., 331. It may also be found in Collier's "Shakespeare, i., cxcii.

engaged in their representation. We hear of him in 1610 as one of the ten chief actors in "The Alchemist," and in 1611 as similarly employed in "Catiline;" and his name occupies precisely the same place in both lists, viz., the last but one in the second column. For greater distinctness we will quote them as they stand at the end of "Catiline," in the folio of 1616, which, as we have before stated, we suppose to have been prepared and corrected by Ben Jonson:—

Ric. Burbadge.	}	{	John Hemings.
Alex. Cooke.			Hen. Condel.
Joh. Lowin.			Joh. Underwood.
Wil. Ostler.			Nic. Tooly.
Ric. Robinson.			Wil. Eglestone.

We have no clue to the parts he and others took in "The Alchemist" or "Catiline," and the same remark will apply to at least fourteen plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, before which the name of Tooley is inserted as that of one of the actors. Among his latest performances must have been characters in "The Prophetess," "The Sea Voyage," and "The Spanish Curate," all of which were licensed for the stage in 1622. His name is also inserted by the player-editors among the actors of "A Wife for a Month;" but this must be an error not hitherto pointed out: that comedy was not sanctioned for performance by the Master of the Revels until 27th May, 1624, and Tooley had then been dead nearly a year: he did not even act in "The Maid in the Mill," because it was licensed about a month after his decease, but in this instance his name is omitted at the bottom of the *dramatis personæ*.

This circumstance tends to show that Webster's "Duchess of Malfi" (in the *dramatis personæ* of which Tooley's name occurs twice, as the representative of Forobosco, who says nothing, and of one of the madmen, whose part was of course mainly action) must have been reproduced before June, 1623.

As we have before had frequent occasion to remark, the tragedy was originally acted about the year 1616, and then also Tooley performed in it.

Respecting the place of his residence during his theatrical career we can give no satisfactory information: the token-books of St. Saviour's, Southwark, contain a John Tooley; he had lived "on the west side of the Bank, toward Waverley house," but in the margin opposite his name, in 1612, we read "gone," as if he had then removed. We can only guess that he may have been related to Nicholas Tooley.

In the same way we may speculate that there might be a family connexion between our actor and Cuthbert Tooley, who was one of the "chirurgeons" to Queen Anne of Denmark, and who walked at her funeral in 1619, as appears by Sir Lionel Cranfield's account of the ceremony in the Audit Office.

At the time Tooley made his will, dated 3rd June, 1623, he was lodging in the house of Cuthbert Burbadge, which we know was in Holywell Street, Shoreditch; but, for some unexplained reason, he was buried in the churchyard of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, and the entry of the event stands thus in the register:—

Buried. Nicholas Tooley, Gentleman, from the house of Cuthbert Burbidge, Gentleman. 5 June, 1623.

It is very possible that St. Giles was his own parish church, and that he had lived in Cripplegate before his fatal illness: when attacked by it, he may have gone to lodge with Cuthbert Burbadge; and it will be seen that he bequeaths Mrs. Cuthbert Burbadge £10 additional, as a remembrance of his love for the "motherly care" she had bestowed upon him: the expression reads as if he had been the younger of the two, and supposing Tooley to have born, and baptized Nicholas Wilkinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1574-5, he was not fifty at his death.

He mentions neither wife nor child in his will, and the pro-

bability is that he died single: the only relations he speaks of are some persons of the name of Cobb, to whom he released certain small debts and gave small legacies, but he left the bulk of his property, "goods, chattels, leases, money, debts, and personal estate," to his "loving friends," Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, to be equally divided between them. He was under bond for £10 for Joseph Taylor, which he directed his executors to pay: John Underwood and William Ecclestone owed him money, which he released them; but he bequeathed £29 13s. 0d., which Richard Robinson was indebted to him, to Sarah Burbadge, daughter of his "late master, Richard Burbadge," as a marriage portion, or, if unmarried, to be paid to her when she came of age.

His charitable bequests (not including £10 for his funeral sermon) were £80 to St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, for the distribution of thirty-two penny wheaten loaves every Sunday to the poor; and we learn from Stow's Survey, by Strype, that the vicar, churchwardens, and vestrymen of the parish, purchased with the £80 a yearly rent-charge, "issuing out of the George in Holywell Street," for the true performance of the trust:¹ Tooley also gave £20 to the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, for the distribution of eight penny loaves every Sunday; but in what way this object was secured in that parish we are unable to state. He was "sick in body" when he made the following will, on 3rd June, 1623; and as he was buried on the 5th June, we may conclude that he died on the 4th June, but of what disorder no where appears.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, being sicke in body, but of perfect mynd and memorie, praised be God therefore, doe make and declare this my last will and testament, in forme following; that is to say: first, I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty God, the Father, trusting and assuredlie beleeving, that by the merits of the precious death and passion of his only sonne, and my

¹ Stow's Survey, by Strype, edit. 1720, B. iv., p. 53.

only Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall obtaine full and free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes, and shall enjoy everlasting life in the kingdom of Heaven, amongst the elect children of God. My bodie I committ to the earth from whence yt came, to be buried in decent manner, at the discretion of my executors hereunder named. My worldlie substance I doe dispose of as followeth :

Imprimis, I give unto my good friend, Mr. Thomas Adams, preacher of God's word, whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall sermon, the some of ten pounds.

Item, I doe release and forgive unto my kinswoman, Mary Cobb of London, widdowe, the some of fyve pounds which she oweth me, and I do give unto her the some of fyve pounds more.

Item, I do release and forgive unto her sonne, Peter Cobb, the somme of sixe pounds which he oweth me.

Item, I doe give unto her sonne, John Cobb, the somme of sixe pounds.

Item, I do give unto her daughter, Margaret Moseley, the some of fyve pounds.

Item, I doe give unto Mrs. Burbadge, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Cutbert Burbadge, (in whose house I doe nowe lodge) as a remembrance of my love, in respect of her motherlie care over me, the some of tenn pounds, over and besides such sommes of money as I shall owe unto her att my decease.

Item, I do give unto her daughter, Elizabeth Burbadge, alias Maxey, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such thinges as she shall thinke moste meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seal shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for payment thereof, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, and as fully as if her pretended husband should make and seale the same with her.

Item, I give to Alice Walker, the sister of my late Mr. Burbadge, deceased, the somme of tenn pounds, to be payd unto her owne proper hands, therewithall to buy her such thinges as she shall thinke most meete to weare in remembrance of me. And my will is, that an acquittance under her only hand and seale shal be a sufficient discharge in lawe to my executors for the payment thereof, to all intents, purposes,

and constructions, and as fully as if her husband should make and seale the same with her.

Item, I give unto Sara Burbadge, the daughter of my said late m^r., Richard Burbadge, deceased, that somme of twentye and nyne pounds and thirteen shillings, which is owing unto me by Richard Robinson, to be recovered, retayned, and disposed of by my executors hereunder named, until her marriage, or age of twenty and one years, (which shall first and next happen) without any allowaunce to be made of use, otherwise then as they in their discretions shall think meete to allow unto her.

Item, I give unto Mrs. Condell, the wife of my good friend, Mr. Henry Condell, as a remembrance of my love, the sum of fyve pounds.

Item, I give unto Elizabeth Condell, the daughter of the said Henry Condell, the somme of tenn pounds.

Item, whereas I stand bound for Joseph Taylor, as his surety for payment of tenn pounds, or thereabouts, my will is, that my executors shall out of my estate pay that debt for him, and discharge him out of that bond.

Item, I do release and forgive unto John Underwood and William Ecclestone, all such sommes of money as they do severally owe unto me.

Item, I do give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall reliefe of the poore people of the parishe of St. Leonard, in Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, under the condition hereunder expressed, the some of fourscore pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parish, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the parson, churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the said parishe, for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, in such sort as that on everie Sunday after morninge prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe, thirtie and two penny wheaten loaves for their relief. Provided alwaies, and my will and mind is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my will, then, and in such case, I give and bequeath the same legacie of fourcore pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poore people in the parishe of St. Gyles without Cripplegate, London, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

Item, I doe give and bequeath, for and towards the perpetuall relief of the poore of the said parishe of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London,

under the condition hereunder expressed, the somme of twenty pounds, to remayne as a stocke in the same parishe, and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed, by the advise of the churchwardens, overseers for the poore, and vestrymen of the same parishe for the tyme being, or the greater number of them, in such sort as that on every Sunday after morning prayer, for ever, there may, out of the encrease which shall arrise by the ymployment thereof, be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same parishe eight penny wheaten loaves for their reliefe: provided alwaies, and my will and mynd is, that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be performed in anie wise contrarie to the true meaninge of this my will, then and in such case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poorer people of the said parishe of St. Leonard in Shoreditch, to be imployed in that parishe in forme aforesaid.

Item, my will and mynd is, and I doe hereby devise and appoynt, that all and singuler the legacies bequeathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine tyme is otherwise limited): shalbe truly payd by my executors, hereunder named, within the space of one yeare att the furthest next after my decease. All the rest and residue of all and singular my goods, chattels, leases, money, debtes, and personall estate, whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes, legacies, and funerall charges discharged), I doe fully and wholly give and bequeath unto my aforementioned loving friends, Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, to be equally devided betweene them, parte and parte like. And I doe make, name, and constitute the said Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the executors of this my last will and testament. And I doe hereby revoke and make voyd all former wills, testaments, codicills, legacies, executors, and bequests whatsoever, by me att any tyme heretofore made, named, given or appointed, willing and mynding that theis precedents only shall stand and be taken for my last will and testament, and none other.

In witness whereof to this my last will and testament, conteyninge foure sheets of paper, with my name subscribed to everie sheete, I have sett my seale the third day of June, 1623, and in the one and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King James, &c.

NICHOLAS TOOLEY.

Signed, sealed, pronounced, and declared by the said Nicholas Tooley,

the testator, as his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

The marke + of ANNE ASPLIN.

The marke + of MARY COBER.

The marke + of JOANE BOOTH.

The marke + of AGNES DAWSON.

The marke E. B. of ELIZABETH BOLTON.

The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.

The marke + of ISABEL STANLEY.

HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.

And of me, RO. DICKENS, serv^t. unto the
said Notary.

Memorandum, that I, Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, of London, gentleman, have on the day of the date of theis presents, by the name of Nicholas Tooley, of London, gentleman, made my last will and testament in writing, conteyning foure sheetes of paper, with my name subscribed to every sheete, and sealed with my seale, and thereby have given and bequeathed divers personall legacies to divers persons, and for divers uses, and therefore have made, named, and constituted my lovinge friends, Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell, the executors, as thereby may more at large appeare. Now, for the explanation, cleering, avoyding, and determination of all such ambiguities, doubttes, scruples, questions, and variances about the validite of my said last will, as may arise, happen, or be moved after my decease, by reason of the omission of my name of Wilkinson therein, I doe therefore, by this my presente codicil, by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, ratifie, confirme, and approve my said last will and everie gifte, legacye, and bequest therein expressed, and the executors therein named, as fully and amply, to all intents, purposes, and constructions, as if I had been so named in my said last will, any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last will, or any scruple, doubt, question, variance, misinterpretation, cavill or misconstruction whatsoever, to be had, moved, made or inferred thereupon or thereby, or any other matter, cause, or thinge whatsoever, to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And I doe hereby alsoe further declare, that my will, mynd, and meaning is, that this my presente codicil shalbe, by all judges, magistrates and other persons, in all courts and other places, and to all intents and purposes, expounded,

construed, deemed, reputed and taken to be as parte and parcell of my said last will and testament. As witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the thirde day of June, 1623, and in the one and twentieth year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord King James, &c.

NICHOLAS WILKINSON, als TOOLEY. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared by the said Nicholas Wilkinson, alias Tooley, as a codicil to be annexed unto his last will and testament, on the day and yeares above written, in the presence of us,

SIMON DREWE.

The marke L. S. of ISABELL STANLEY.

The marke + of FAITH KEMPSALL.

HUM. DYSON, Notary Public.

And of me, RO. DICKENS, serv^t. unto
the said Notary.

The proof of the will, according to Chalmers,¹ who first printed it, was made by Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Con-
dell, the executors, on 17th June, 1624, more than a year
after the death of the testator.

¹ "Apology for the Believers," p. 456.

WILLIAM ECCLESTONE.

There is little doubt that the family, from which William Ecclestone (or Egglestone) sprang, resided at an early date in Southwark: the token-books inform us that a person of that name, perhaps the father of our actor, dwelt in 1583 "on the west side of the Bank:" in 1601 the same individual (his Christian name is given in neither instance) seems to have lived in Swan Alley, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Swan theatre. We have met with no entry of the birth of William Ecclestone, but he was probably married in 1603, as we find by the register of St. Saviour's:—

1602, Feb. 20. Married, William Eglestone and Anne Jacob.

If a family were the fruit of this union, we have no record of it in the parishes, the registers of which we have examined with a view to the discovery of such particulars.¹

When first we hear of William Ecclestone, in connexion with the stage, he was a member of the association to which Shakespeare still belonged, though he had ceased to act some years before the name of Ecclestone occurs in any list of the company. Ecclestone was one of the actors in Ben Jonson's

¹ We noticed the baptisms of two William Ecclestons, but at too modern dates for our purpose, and the name of the father did not correspond: one at St. Mary, Aldermanbury:—

"Baptized, 26 Sept., 1612, William, the sonne of Robert Egleston."

The other at St. Anne, Blackfriars:—

"William Egglestone, sonne to Edward and Elizabeth, baptized 11 Feb., 1619."

There were Ecclestons also in Shoreditch as early as 1578, when Jane Ecclestone was buried at St. Leonard's.

"Alchemist," performed in 1610, and in the same author's "Catiline," brought out in 1611. He had no part (at least his name is not given by the author) in "Every Man in his Humour," "Every Man out of his Humour," "Sejanus," or "Volpone;" so that we may presume he became one of the King's players between 1605 and 1610: in "The Alchemist" and "Catiline" Will. Ecclestone comes last in the author's enumeration of "the principal comedians."

However unimportant might be the characters he sustained on those occasions, the appearance of Ecclestone's name among the actors in "Catiline" establishes (a point with which Gifford could not be acquainted) that that tragedy was acted before 29th August, 1611; because at that date Ecclestone had quitted the King's company, and had joined the association called the players of Prince Henry, consisting of twelve principal performers or sharers, his name being inserted fourth in the document from which we derive our information. It is a bond entered into with Henslowe, by the actors in his pay, for the performance of certain articles under his management at the Fortune, and it is preserved among Alleyn's papers at Dulwich College.¹ We learn from the same instrument, that Joseph Taylor had also at that date abandoned his quarters and his companions at the Globe and Blackfriars, and his name immediately precedes that of Ecclestone in the enumeration of the company Henslowe had formed: it may be worth while to repeat it here, that the reader may see who were the associates of Taylor and Ecclestone at this period.

John Townsend.	John Rice.
Will. Barksted.	Robt. Hamlett.
Joseph Taylor.	Will. Carpenter.
William Ecclestone.	Thomas Basse.
Giles Cary.	Joseph Moore.
Thomas Hunt.	Alexander Foster.

¹ See a copy of it, with the names of all the players appended, in "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 98.

For what reasons Taylor and Ecclestone had consented, in the summer of 1611, to act with a rival company at the Fortune, we have no means of knowing: Taylor perhaps thought he had not room enough for the display of his powers in an association of which Burbadge was the leading member, and Ecclestone may have been dissatisfied with his inferior position, recollecting that his name comes last in Ben Jonson's two lists of the ten performers in his "Alchemist" and "Catiline." Neither of them continued long under the control of Henslowe (who, as we shall see presently, contrived to quarrel with his company), and we meet with their names as performers in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Honest Man's Fortune," which was brought out by the King's players in 1613.¹ It is to be observed, however, that Burbadge had no part in this drama, the principal actors being Nathan Field, Robert Benfield, Emmanuel Read, Joseph Taylor, William Ecclestone, and Thomas Basse. Thomas Basse, therefore, was another actor who had forsaken Henslowe, and followed Taylor and Ecclestone, when they rejoined their old associates of the Globe and Blackfriars.

Among "The Alleyn Papers"² is a curious document, originally derived from Dulwich College, but not now preserved there, relating to the dispute between Henslowe and the actors, whom he had collected in August, 1611. Hence it appears that, before Taylor quitted the Prince's players, he borrowed £30 of Henslowe, which the old manager "cunningly" placed in his account as a debit from the whole company: on the other hand, Henslowe had obtained £14 from Ecclestone, which, it is charged, he had never brought to the credit of the association. The date of February, 1614-15, is

¹ In 1624 Sir Henry Herbert called it "an old play," and a MS. of it was in the library of Mr. Heber, thus entitled "The Honest Man's Fortune. Plaide in the yeare 1613."

² Printed by the Shakespeare Society, p. 78.

given in this paper, so that it refers to a period two years after Taylor and Ecclestone had ceased to perform at the Fortune.

Ecclestone remained one of his Majesty's servants in 1619, because his name is included in the confirmation then granted by James I. of his patent of 1603. He was either dead, had retired from the stage, or had joined some other company in 1625; for when Charles I. renewed the patent of his father, Ecclestone's name is not to be found in it.¹ If he were dead, we are without any record of his burial: if he had retired from the stage, we have no notice of the fact; and if he had joined some other company, we do not meet with his name anywhere as a member of it. Had he continued one of the King's players in 1625, he could hardly have been omitted in the patent of Charles I.

The latest date at which he can be traced on the stage is about 1622, for he was a performer in some of Fletcher's plays, brought out at that period. His name is inserted in the lists, under the *dramatis personæ* of "The Little French Lawyer," "The Custom of the Country," "Bonduca," "The Laws of Candy," "The Loyal Subject," "The Mad Lover," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "Women Pleased," "The Island Princess," "The Sea Voyage," "The Spanish Curate," &c. Some of these were produced, as we have said, in 1622; but if William Ecclestone were the author of the lines subscribed W. E., before Taylor and Lowin's edition of "The Wild Goose Chase" in 1652, he must have lived to an advanced time of life: supposing him to have been married in 1603, according to the register at St. Saviour's, he could scarcely have been less than seventy in 1652. No will by any William Ecclestone of that period has been discovered.

¹ "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," ii., 2.

JOSEPH TAYLOR.

Among the baptisms at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, close by the Blackfriars theatre, we meet with that of a Joseph Taylor, which, from the correspondence of dates, we may very reasonably consider the registration of our actor. It runs thus, without any mention of parents, or place of residence:—

Joseph Taylor, baptized 6 Feb., 1585.

In no other register have we seen the baptism of a Joseph Taylor, that in point of date would so well answer our purpose, and in the course of the following memoir we shall assume that our quotation applies to the subject of it.¹ We shall see pre-

¹ Joseph Taylor, the actor, is not to be confounded with John Taylor, the water-poet, who was much concerned with players, and whose initials being the same as those of Joseph Taylor, may occasion mistakes in the old parish records. John Taylor at one time lived in Southwark, and he is now and then spoken of as J. Taylor, but the actor is uniformly called Joseph Taylor. We may here introduce an epitaph upon John Taylor, which has never been reprinted, that we recollect, and which corrects Anthony Wood's conjecture (*Ath., Oxon., iii., 765, edit. Bliss*), as to the birth and death of the water-poet. It is from a work called "*Sportive Wit: the Muses Merriment.*" 8vo., 1656.

"An Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the City of Gloucester, died in Phoenix Alley in the 75 yeare of his age: you may finde him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden churchyard:—

" Here lies John Taylor, without rime or reason,
For death struck his muse in so cold a season,
That Jack lost the use of his scullers to row;
The chill pate rascal would not let his boat go.

sently that he was an inhabitant of Southwark in 1607, and he married the daughter of a widow of the name of Ingle in 1610, at St. Saviour's church, where the ceremony seems registered as follows:—

Married, 1610, May 2, Joseph Taylor and Elizabeth Ingle.

"The widow Ingle," as appears by the token-books of the liberty of the Clink, lived on "the east side of the Bank;" but Taylor's residence, in 1607, had been in "Mr. Langley's new rents, near the playhouse," meaning probably the Globe, with the company performing at which, in the next year at least, Taylor was importantly connected. He perhaps occupied the same house when he married, but it is more likely that he removed to Austen's Rents, where we find him in 1612, and where he continued in 1615. In 1617 "gone" is written against his name, but whither he had removed we have not been able to ascertain: he had probably quitted Southwark, because, if he had any children between 1617 and 1623 (when by the token-books we learn that he was again

Alas, poor Jack Taylor! this 'tis to drink ale
 With nutmegs and ginger, with a taste though stale:
 It drencht thee in rimes. Hadst thou been of the pack
 With Draiton and Johnson to quaff off thy sack,
 They'd infus'd thee a genius should nere expire,
 And have thawd thy muse with elemental fire.
 Yet still, for the honour of thy sprightly wit,
 Since some of thy fancies so handsomely hit,
 The nymphs of the rivers, for thy relation,
 Sirnamed thee the *water-post* of the nation.
 Who can write more of thee, let him do't for me,
 A pox take all rimers, Jack Taylor, but thee.
 Weep not, reader, if thou canst chuse,
 Over the stone of so merry a muse."

Sign. li 1.

The same work contains "Another from the University," but it is hardly worth quoting.

“near the playhouse”), they were not baptized at St. Saviour’s. He was still “near the playhouse” in 1629; but in 1631 it is stated generally that he lived “on the Bankside,” and in 1633, which is the last we hear of him in Southwark, his abode was in Gravel Lane.

These are minute points, with which Malone and Chalmers were not acquainted, the token-books not having been discovered when they made their searches at St. Saviour’s: the registers were however available, and from them they made various quotations in reference to other players: it is singular, therefore, that they did not observe one of the five entries respecting the children of Joseph and Elizabeth Taylor, commencing in 1612, and ending in 1623. We subjoin them in succession as they stand in the books, that we may complete our domestic information, before we speak of Taylor in his public capacity:—

1612, July 12. Elisabeth Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1614, July 21. Dixsye Taylor, } twinns of Joseph, a player: baptized.
Joseph Taylor, }

1615, Jan. 11. Jone Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1617, June 1. Robert Taylor, sonne of Joseph, a player: baptized.

1623, Aug. 24. Anne Taylor, daughter of Joseph, a player: baptized.

The addition of “a player” in every instance removes the possibility of doubt, and we can only be surprised at the carelessness of preceding biographers, who omitted the memoranda we have above quoted. If Joseph Taylor lost any children, they were not buried at St. Saviour’s; and, as we have already remarked, we have found no trace of the baptism of any between 1617 and 1623, when we suppose that he and his wife lived out of the parish of St. Saviour’s.

In his connexion with theatres and companies of actors, Taylor seems early in life to have been somewhat unsettled and capricious; but there is, here and there, an apparent confusion, if not contradiction, in our extant information.

He was in his twenty-third year in 1608, and this is the earliest date at which his name occurs in relation to the stage. He was about that time the owner of a share and a half in the receipts at the Blackfriars theatre, valued at £350,¹ and as he was in this important position, as regards the very prosperous association called the King's players, we are, we think, warranted in concluding that he had then been some years on the stage, and that, like many others, he began his career as a boy.

We have already shown in the memoir of Richard Burbadge that he was the original Hamlet, so that although Wright may be quite correct when he says, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Taylor performed that part "incomparably well," he must be speaking of a date subsequent to the death of Burbadge, when, no doubt, Hamlet devolved into the hands of Taylor. Downes, who could know nothing of the matter but by remote stage-tradition, asserts that Taylor was instructed in the proper mode of acting Hamlet by Shakespeare,² and he may have occasionally taken it as the "double" of Burbadge, when the latter could not perform; but we may be quite sure that Burbadge did not relinquish so prominent and applauded a character until his death. Wright was better informed upon such subjects than to state that Taylor was Hamlet when that tragedy was first produced, and when Burbadge was in the height of his powers and reputation. It is no doubt true, and it is a matter that may have come within the knowledge of Downes, that Sir W. Davenant, who had seen Taylor, taught Betterton how to act Hamlet, but Downes was not aware that Taylor had had a predecessor in the part, a fact with which we are acquainted on indisputable authority.

We must conclude that not long after 1608 Taylor disposed of his share and a half in the receipts of the Blackfriars theatre: the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were then making a renewed attempt to exclude the King's players from

¹ Collier's "Shakespeare," i., cxxx.

² "Roscius Anglicanus," 8vo., 1708, p. 21.

that privileged precinct, and Taylor might sell his property, under the mistaken apprehension that the city authorities would succeed. Certain it is that in August, 1611, he had become one of the players of Prince Henry, under Philip Henslowe,¹ but he continued a member of that association only for a short time, for in 1613 he had rejoined the actors at the Globe and Blackfriars. Taylor would hardly have remained a sharer in the profits of the Blackfriars while he was himself acting with a body of theatrical competitors: whether he returned to his old quarters on the same terms, as those he enjoyed about 1608, is a point that cannot now be settled.

Soon after the death of Prince Henry, most of his players became those of the Palatine of the Rhine; and there is reason to believe that Taylor belonged to this body before it "broke" and was dissolved. He seems to have shifted about a good deal at this period, and in 1614 he unquestionably was one of the Lady Elizabeth's servants. The following extract from the office-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber is decisive upon this point:—

To Joseph Taylor, for himself and the rest of his fellows, servants to the Lady Elizabeth, her grace, upon the Council's warrant, dated at Whitehall, 21 June, 1614, for presenting before his Majesty a comedy called *Eastward Ho!* on the 25th of January last past, £6 13s. 4d.; and by way of his Majesty's reward, 66s. 8d.—in all, £10. To him more, upon a like warrant of a like date, for presenting before the Prince's Highness a comedy called the *Dutch Courtesan*, on the 12th of December last past, £6 13s. 4d.²

¹ See our *Memoir of William Ecclestone*, p. 246, and "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 98. By a patent, only very recently discovered by Mr. T. E. Tomlins, and for the ready communication of which the Shakespeare Society is indebted to him, it appears that on 30th March, 8 Jac. I., Joseph Taylor was nominated one of the players of the Duke of York. The document will be printed in the next volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers.

² Mr. P. Cunningham's *Revels' Accounts*, *Introd.*, p. xliv.

This memorandum is remarkable, also, because it shows that a comedy—"Eastward Ho!"—which gave so much offence to James I. when it was originally produced, that he imprisoned the authors of it (Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston), was not very long afterwards, by omitting passages reflecting on the Scotch, rendered so palatable to the court, that it was played before the king. Both that comedy and "The Dutch Courtesan" (written by Marston alone) had been printed eight or nine years before the date of this record of their performance at Whitehall.

In 1615 Joseph Taylor was at the head of the players of Prince Charles, formed in part, as well as we can now judge, of the servants of the Princess Elizabeth: by this date the company of the Prince Palatine seems to have re-united, and formed a distinct and independent association. After the death of Henslowe, in January 1616, Edward Alleyn again, and of necessity, mixed himself up with the management of the Prince's players at the Fortune: we learn that Taylor, Pallant, W. Rowley, Newton, Hamten, Atwell, Smyth, and others, had performed for Henslowe and Meade at Paris Garden, after it had been fitted up as an occasional theatre; but as soon as Henslowe was dead, Meade took measures which so annoyed the players, that they were obliged to make an appeal to Alleyn; and this document, subscribed by the seven principal actors, has been preserved, and is printed, with a facsimile of their handwritings, in one of the publications of the Shakespeare Society.¹ Taylor and his associates requested from Alleyn a loan of £40, to supply their urgent exigencies, professing their readiness to give him the security of £80, then due to them for performances at court, but not yet payable in the regular course of such transactions. We may presume that Alleyn complied, and we afterwards learn that many, if not all the subscribers, including of course Taylor, were members of Alleyn's company at the Fortune.

¹ The Alleyn Papers, p. 86 and 87.

Our persuasion is that Taylor did not again attach himself to the King's players until after the death of Burbadge: perhaps he was invited to join them upon very advantageous terms, with a view of partially supplying the irreparable loss of the company. Field already belonged to it, and his name is therefore found in the renewed patent of 1619, but that of Taylor is wanting, and, as we apprehend, for this reason: when it was drawn up, Burbadge was living and in good health, but for some unexplained cause it was not dated until about a fortnight after his death: it then became necessary to recruit the association; and, as the demise of Queen Anne occasioned a cessation of dramatic performances for about two months, the King's players employed the interval in negotiating with Taylor for his return.

That he did return, either then, or soon afterwards, we are able to produce evidence, which also establishes the additional fact that one of Burbadge's characters was assigned to Taylor. We allude to the edition of Webster's "*Duchess of Malfi*," in 1623, which we have often before had occasion to mention in reference to the two lists of actors it contains—the one as the tragedy was played about 1616, and the other as it was played about 1622. In 1616, Burbadge had the character of Duke Ferdinand in it, but in 1622 the part was given to Taylor: according to our supposition, Taylor had then belonged to the King's players since 1619, but this, it will be recollected, was the second time he had been a member of that association. In 1622 Taylor's services became the more necessary, because Field, as we have stated in his memoir, had then retired altogether from the profession.

In the list of the twenty-six "principal actors in all these plays," prefixed to the folio Shakespeare of 1623, the name of Joseph Taylor stands only the twenty-first, which may or may not show that he had little to do with the original representation of the characters of our great dramatist. This is a point we cannot pretend to determine. Of the parts Taylor sus-

tained in the plays of Shakespeare we know little: only two have been handed down to us, but they are so important as strongly to confirm our belief that after the death of Burbadge Taylor in many instances assumed his buskins. One of these—Hamlet—has been already spoken of, and the other is Iago, which has been assigned to him on the same authority.¹ In Iago he did not follow Burbadge, because Burbadge's part was Othello, and after his death Field succeeded to it, while Swanston took it after Field.

It may be doubted whether Taylor appeared originally in any of Ben Jonson's plays—certainly not in any included in the folio of 1616, although we have the evidence of Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that he subsequently obtained much reputation for his Mosca in "Volpone," for his Truewit in "Epicœne," and for his Face in "The Alchemist." He may have acted in some of the same author's later works, particularly in his "Bartholomew Fair," which was brought out by the Princess Elizabeth's servants in 1614, when Taylor was in the company. Taylor acted many parts in Beaumont and Fletcher's productions, his name being frequently found among the actors enumerated in the folios, but what those parts were we can generally only guess, because they are not specified: one of his characters was certainly Rollo, in "The Bloody Brother," and another Mirabel, in "The Wild Goose Chase."² The *dramatis personæ* of Massinger's "Roman Actor" and "Picture," prove that Taylor was Paris in the first, and Mathias in the second: he wrote some commendatory verses

¹ Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, 8vo.

² According to Shakerly, Marmion's lines "unto his worthy friend, Master Joseph Taylor," the latter was mainly and successfully instrumental in the revival of "The Faithful Shepherdess" at court, just before its republication in 1633. Taylor evidently had a part in it, although his character has not been ascertained. Marmion says—

"Yet did it not receive more honour from
The glorious pomp, than thine own action," &c.

to "The Roman Actor," when it was printed, in 1629, which were addressed to "his long known and loved friend," the author, and end thus:—

———but why I write to thee
Is, to profess our love's antiquity,
Which to this tragedy must give my test:
Thou hast made many good, but this thy best.

All the lines run easily, and, if they have reached us in the state in which they were first penned by Taylor, they show that he was not a contemptible verse-maker, although we are acquainted with no more specimens of his skill. Another of his ascertained characters is the Duke, in Lodowick Carlell's "Deserving Favourite," and the list, as far as we can make it out, proves that he must have been not only a performer of great ability, but of very versatile talents.¹

Not long after the date of which we are now speaking, Taylor appears to have become one of the leaders of the King's players, in conjunction with Lowin. Malone tells us that Heminge "continued chief director of the company to the time of his death," and in a certain sense this is true; but it is indisputable that he had ceased to act for some years, and that Taylor and Lowin sometimes took the places of Heminge and Condell, in their intercourse with the Master of the Revels, and other officers of the court, on the subject of theatrical performances. At the close of 1624,² the company incurred the dis-

¹ We learn from a passage in Gayton's Notes on "Don Quixote," fo. 1654, that Taylor had been the representative of Arbaces in Beaumont and Fletcher's "King and no King."

² See the incident duly noticed, p. 177 of this volume. At this date, or a little earlier, Taylor seems to have been by no means rich; and in our memoir of Nicholas Tooley we have shown that, having become bound for Taylor in the sum of £10, when he made his will, in 1623, Tooley kindly directed that his executors should pay the money, and discharge Taylor from the obligation.

pleasure of Sir H. Herbert, the Master of the Revels, by performing a play entitled "The Spanish Viceroy," without his permission. For this act of insubordination they were called to account; and as we have inserted the submission of the eleven members of the company, with Taylor and Lowin at their head, in a previous part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat here.¹

The first royal patent in which the name of Taylor occurs, as a member of the King's company of players, bears date 24th June, 1625, soon after Charles I. had ascended the throne. Heminge and Condell are still introduced as the heads of the association, but they had in fact retired from the more ostensible duties of the profession, and left Lowin and Taylor, whose names come third and fourth in the instrument, as the real leaders:² when, however, on 30th December following, a hundred marks were ordered to be paid to the company as the royal bounty, "for better furnishing them with apparel" that they might perform before the King, the warrant was made out in the name of Taylor alone.³ Together with Heminge,

¹ P 177. In August preceding, the company had got into disgrace for acting Middleton's "Game at Chess." We may here correct an error into which the Rev. Mr. Dyce has fallen in his "Account of Middleton and his Works," i., xxiv: it occurs where he cites an entry from the registers of the Privy Council, stating that Edward Middleton, having been sent for by warrant, had tendered his appearance. For "Edward," the Rev. Mr. Dyce substitutes "Thomas," within brackets, as if "Edward" had been a clerical error for "Thomas." The fact is, as appears by other parts of the registers, that on 30th August, 1624, a warrant had been issued "to bring one Middleton, *sonne to Middleton the poet*, before their Lordships to answer," in consequence of which Edward Middleton, the son of Thomas Middleton, tendered his appearance. In an earlier part of his Memoir, (p. xii) the Rev. Mr. Dyce mentions that Middleton had a son of the name of Edward, who was nineteen in 1623, which renders the mistake evident.

² Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 2.

³ Ibid, ii., 6.

Lowin, and eleven others, in 1629 Taylor was provided as usual, from the royal wardrobe in the Blackfriars, with a cloak of bastard-scarlet and crimson velvet for the cape.¹ In 1634, four years after the death of Heminge, Eliard Swanston is put forward with Lowin and Taylor as heads of the King's players, and on 27th April of that year they had a warrant for £220, the money due to them for representations at court during twelve months.² In 1636, Swanston's name is omitted, and Lowin and Taylor were paid £210 for twenty-one plays; and in 1637 they (in conjunction with Christopher Beeston, the master of "the King and Queen's young company") had influence enough to obtain from the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, an unprecedented order to the Stationers' Company against the printing of plays in which the two associations had an interest.³

The precise year when Taylor was appointed Yeoman of the Revels, under Sir Henry Herbert, was not accurately given in any authority, until it was ascertained by Mr. P. Cunningham from the original patent, bearing date 11th November, 1639: in it the office is called "Yeoman or Keeper of our Vestures or Apparel;"⁴ and, as it seems to be the first time the post was ever filled by an actor, we must, no doubt, mainly attribute his selection to his high claims in that capacity. An increase of £3 6s. 8d. had been made in the salary in 1630, in consequence of additional attendance during the month of October,⁵ but the total emoluments appear to have been inconsiderable.

About three years after Taylor had obtained this office, the theatres were closed, the civil wars having commenced. On the 2nd September, 1642, was issued the "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons" suppressing all theatrical performances: this

¹ Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 20.

² Ibid., ii., 64.

³ Ibid ii., 83.

⁴ Extracts from the Revels' Accounts, Introd., p. 1.

⁵ Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 72.

order was more effectually enforced in 1647; and the actors, being deprived of this means of obtaining a livelihood, resorted to various expedients: one of these was the publication of the first folio impression of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher in 1647. Ten actors put their names to the dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, in two columns, at the head of the first being John Lowin, and at the head of the second, Joseph Taylor. The reader may like to see who were the members of the disorganized association, if association it could be called, in 1647, and we subjoin the names as they stand in the printed copy.

John Lowin.	Joseph Taylor.
Richard Robinson.	Robert Benfield.
Eylærd Swanston.	Thomas Pollard.
Hugh Clearke.	William Allen.
Stephen Hammerton.	Theophilus Byrd.

Five years afterwards, the two leaders of this body of disbanded players, having recovered "The Wild Goose Chase," (which they could not obtain for insertion in the folio) printed it with the purpose of obtaining a small supply of money. In 1652 their necessities seem to have been very pressing, all theatrical performances being completely at an end: we have adverted to this point in our memoir of Lowin.

Wright tells us, in his *Historia Histrionica*, that Lowin, Taylor, and Pollard, were superannuated at the breaking out of the Rebellion; and as Taylor was born, we believe, in 1585, he was not far from seventy when "The Wild Goose Chase" came from the press, and when it became necessary for him to raise a few pounds. He had now to begin the world again—

At seventeen years many their fortunes seek,
But at fourscore it is too late a week—

and he only survived until the next year. Richard Flecknoe published his "Characters" (referred to by Malone) in 1665,

but he introduces one which he tells us was written in 1654, and there he speaks of Joseph Taylor as dead: "He is one who, now the stage is down, acts the parasite's part at table, and, since Taylor's death, none can play Mosca so well as he." Wright states that Taylor died at Richmond, and was buried there.¹

From the registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate, we learn that there was a player of the name of Thomas Taylor, who had a child christened and buried there in 1624 and 1625. Whether he were any relation to Joseph Taylor we have not been able to discover; but we hear of Thomas Taylor, as an actor, on no other authority.

¹ Lysons in his "Environs," i., 466, says, "Joseph Taylor, an eminent actor, who died in 1653, is said to have been buried at Richmond, but there is no memorial of him to be found in the church or churchyard, and the register is not so ancient."

●

ROBERT BENFIELD.

Malone and Chalmers only state that Benfield was an actor in "The Duchess of Malfi," "The Deserving Favourite," "The Picture," "The Roman Actor," and "The Wild Goose Chase:" the fact is, that he was also engaged in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Coxcomb," "The Honest Man's Fortune," "The Knight of Malta," "The Mad Lover," "The False One," "The Humorous Lieutenant," "The Pilgrim," "The Prophetess," "The Maid in the Mill," "The Wife for a Month," and several other dramas by the same authors. Although the characters he filled are not enumerated, excepting in the instances of Antonio in "The Duchess of Malfi," the King in "The Deserving Favourite," Ladislaus in "The Picture," Junius Rusticus in "The Roman Actor," and De Gard in "The Wild Goose Chase," it is very clear, from the frequency of the claims upon him, that he was a very serviceable member of the King's company. When he first joined that association, or from whence he came, is not known; his name does not occur in any of the lists of young players, acting as the Children of the Chapel, the Children of the Revels, &c., until 1613. In "The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," a person of the name of Benfield is mentioned as a resident in the Liberty of the Clink in 1609; but this, as has been since ascertained, was not our actor, but "Mr. William Benfield," of the token-books of St. Saviour's, who was a vestryman in 1607, churchwarden in 1611, and who was buried in 1619. He had lived in the parish in 1596, and, for aught we know, might be the father of our Robert Benfield, one of "the principal actors" in Shakespeare's plays.

It may on good grounds be doubted, whether Benfield was

an original performer in any of the productions of our great dramatist, and whether he joined the association of the King's dramatic servants before the retirement of Shakespeare to his native town. He is not mentioned by Ben Jonson as having been concerned in the representation of any of his dramas between 1598 and 1611; and the earliest date at which we hear of him, as a player, is in "The Coxcomb," already mentioned, when he was one of the Children of the Queen's Revels, and played with Field, Taylor, and five others: this comedy was acted in 1613, and there can be little doubt that it was its first appearance on the stage. Benfield was not one of the original performers in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," about 1616; but, on its revival, not long before it was printed in 1623, he had succeeded Ostler in the part of Antonio Bologna. This circumstance has already been pointed out.¹

We apprehend that Benfield was not taken into the King's company, until about the same date that Field and Taylor joined it for the second time. Benfield's name follows that of Field in the confirmation of the patent of 1603, granted by James I., in 1619: we do not before hear of him in this association. In the patent of Charles I., on his accession, his name stands sixth in the list of thirteen performers, following that of Richard Robinson, and Field having before this period retired from the profession. In the preceding year, Benfield had been included in the submission of the company to the Master of the Revels for having acted "The Spanish Viceroy" without license.

He was married before 1617, perhaps before he was promoted to the theatrical service of James I., but we have not been able to find the registration: his first child (at least, the first of which we have any intelligence) died in the autumn of 1617, and the burial is thus recorded at St. Bartholomew's the Great, in which parish he most likely resided:—

Robert, the sonne of Robert Benfield, was buried 15 Oct., 1617.

¹ See this volume, p. 205.

He subsequently took up his residence in St. Giles, Cripple-gate, and there, after an interval of about fourteen years, we learn that two more of his children were interred. We quote the following from the registers :—

Buried. Bartholomew, the sonne of Robert Benfield, gent. 21 July, 1631.

Buried. Eliz., daughter of Robert Benfield, player. 1 Aug., 1631.

Where these, or any other of his children were born, we are unable to trace, but Malone and Chalmers failed to discover even this scanty information.

He seems to have continued a member of the company of the King's players to the last: in 1629 he had the usual allowance of bastard scarlet and velvet for a cloak; and from this date we hear no more of him until after the imperfect closing of the theatres in 1642. In 1647 he was one of the ten surviving players who signed the dedication of the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. How long Benfield survived this publication we are without evidence; but if we suppose him to have been fifteen in 1613, when he played with the rest of the Children of the Queen's Revels in "The Coxcomb," he was not fifty when the ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons for "the better suppression of stage-plays, interludes, and common players."¹ Until then, (22 Oct., 1647) the efforts of the puritans to this end do not seem to have been quite effectual.²

Where he died, in the confusion of the times which preceded and followed this event, cannot perhaps be ascertained: no will by Benfield has come to light, nor any administration of his estate, and we may possibly infer, from this and other circumstances, that he left little or no property behind him.

¹ Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, ii., 110.

² The ordinance was followed by an act "For the Suppression of Stage-plays and Interludes," published in Scobell's "Collection of Acts and Ordinances" from 1640 to 1656, under date of 11th Feb., 1647-8.

ROBERT GOUGHE.

We are able to furnish some particulars regarding Goughe and his family, beyond the brief notice of him by Malone and Chalmers. The former says, "I suppose he was the father of Alexander Goughe;"¹ but there is not the slightest doubt on the point, as we shall show presently: Alexander Goughe, who was an actor until the closing of the theatres, and who published "The Widow" (by Ben Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton) in 1652, was the son of Robert Goughe, who, having played Aspasia in Tarlton's "Second Part of the Seven Deadly Sins" before 1588, was unquestionably one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays.

We may conclude that Robert Goughe was young in 1588, from his having taken (as far as we can judge) a female part; but he must have outgrown that class of characters long before 1611 (the date assigned by Malone) when he was the usurping tyrant in "The Second Maiden's Tragedy," because he was married early in the spring of 1603, as appears by the subsequent extract from the register of St. Saviour's, Southwark:—

Married: 1602, Feb. 13, Robert Gough and Elizabeth ———.

The clerk did not know the surname of the wife, but we can supply it from other sources. She was sister to Augustine Phillips, mentioned in her brother's will, in 1605, as Elizabeth Goughe, while her husband was one of the witnesses to it.² In

¹ The name was spelt indifferently, Gough, or Goffe: it is Goughe in the list of "the principal actors in all these plays," prefixed to the folio of 1623.

² See this vol., pp. 86. 88.

1603 Thomas Pope had left to him and John Edmonds (another actor) "all his arms and all his wearing apparel, to be equally divided between them." On the foundation of this bequest Chalmers states, that Robert Goughe had "probably been bred by Thomas Pope," meaning educated by him for the stage; but there is no other existing evidence on the point, and this will hardly be deemed sufficient.

Robert Goughe seems to have resided in Southwark, and we never hear of any connexion between him and any other company but the King's players, occupying the Globe and the Blackfriars theatres. The token-books preserved at St. Saviour's show that he was living in Hill's Rents in 1604, in Samson's Rents in 1605 and 1606; but in 1612 he had removed to Austin's Rents; and as he continued there in 1622, there is little doubt that he did not change his abode until his death, three years afterwards. We meet with the following entries at St. Saviour's, regarding the baptisms and burials of his children:—

Baptized: 1605, 30 May, Elizabeth Gough, daughter of Robert, a player.

Baptized: 1608, 24 Nov., Nicholas Goffe, sonne of Robert, a player.

Baptized: 1610, Feb. 10, Dorathye Goffe, daughter of Robert, a player.

Buried: 1612, Jan. 12, Dorathy Goffe, a child.

Baptized: 1614, Aug. 7, Alexander Goffe, sonne of Robert, a player.

This last was, of course, Alexander Goughe, "the woman-actor of the Blackfriars," as Wright calls him, who afterwards flourished for many years on the stage, who, when he was only twelve years old, was "Cænis, Vespasian's concubine," in Massinger's "Roman Actor," and three years afterwards Acanthe, in the same dramatist's "Picture." Alexander was the youngest and last child of his parents, as far as we are able to learn from the registers.

With the exception stated on the preceding page, we have

no means of deciding what parts Robert Goughe filled in the productions of Shakespeare or of other poets : his name is not appended to the *dramatis personæ* of any plays by Ben Jonson, or Beaumont and Fletcher ; and, as he died early in 1625, he had no opportunity of appearing in the works of later writers. The probability certainly is, that he sustained female characters in some of the earlier plays of our great dramatist ; but we have not the slightest clue to any of them, and we need not indulge in conjectures which our readers can now form as well for themselves.

Neither Malone nor Chalmers knew anything of the marriage, family, or death of Goughe : we find the last event thus recorded in the bound register-book, made out from the monthly accounts at St. Saviour's :—

Buried: 1624, Feb. 19, Robert Goffe, a man,

which might apply to any other Robert Goughe besides our actor ; but in the monthly account, from which the register-book was certainly copied, the “ quality ” of the “ man ” is thus distinguished :—

19 Feb., 1624, Robert Goffe, a player, buried.

Why the person who transcribed the book substituted “ man ” for “ player ” does not appear ; but this is another circumstance which shows the superior value of the more ancient, and often more particular and explanatory, records.

RICHARD ROBINSON.

This player may have been an original actor in some of Shakespeare's later dramas, and he just outlived the complete and final suppression of the stage. Of his death, and of the date at which it occurred, which have been matters of dispute, we shall speak in due course.

His earliest appearance in any list of actors is at the end of Ben Jonson's "Catiline," first represented "by the King's Majesty's servants," in 1611. Robinson was probably the youngest performer in the company: he is certainly the only member of whom we do not hear before, and we may conclude that he sustained one of the four female characters. He had most likely been adopted into the association as a representative of parts of that kind. Ben Jonson divides the "principal tragedians" in his "Catiline" into two columns, and places Robinson at the bottom of the first, and Ecclestone at the bottom of the second. Such seems to have been the class of characters Robinson usually performed early in his career, but Gifford tells us, that he "undoubtedly played the part of Wittipol": in Ben Jonson's "Devil is an Ass," which was produced in 1616: Wittipol is "a young gallant," and might very well have been placed in Robinson's hands, though we have no distinct proof that it was assigned to him. In this very play Ben Jonson speaks of Robinson in terms of extraordinary eulogy, as an actor of female characters: it occurs in act ii., scene viii., of the earliest edition of 1631; but Gifford makes it the third scene of the second act, and changes "*Dick* Robinson," the familiar name by which he was known among

¹ Ben Jonson's Works, v. 73.

his fellows, into "*Dickey* Robinson :—" it will be observed that in the following quotation Ben Jonson twice calls him Dick Robinson :—

Engine. Why, sir, your best will be one o' the players.

Merecraft. No; there's no trusting them. They'll talk on't, And tell their poets.

Engine. What if they do? the jest
Will brook the stage. But there be some of 'em
Are very honest lads. There is Dick Robinson,
A very pretty fellow, and comes often
To a gentleman's chamber, a friend of mine : we had
The merriest supper of it there, one night.
The gentleman's landlady invited him
To a gossip's feast : now, he, sir, brought Dick Robinson,
Drest like a lawyer's wife, amongst 'em all.
(I lent him clothes) but to see him behave it,
And lay the law, and carve, and drink unto 'em,
And then talk bawdy, and send frolics! O!
It would have burst your buttons, or not left you
A seame.

Merecraft. They say he's an ingenious youth.

Engine. O, sir! and dresses himself the best! beyond
Forty o' your ladies! Did you ne'er see him?

Merecraft. No : I do seldom see those toys. But think you
That we may have him?

Engine. Sir, the young gentleman,
I tell you of can command him.

This, it will be remembered, was acted in 1616, five years after we first hear of Robinson, and when he had established himself in public estimation in the line adverted to. The only female character he is known to have filled is the lady of Govianus in "*The Second Maiden's Tragedy*," but at what date is uncertain : neither do we know at what period he began to represent male characters. He acted in Beaumont and Fletcher's "*Bonduca*," "*Double Marriage*," "*Wife for a Month*," and "*Wild Goose Chase*:" the last (published, as we

refused him quarter, and shot him in the head when he had laid down his arms, abusing Scripture at the same time in saying —“Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently.”

Basing House having been taken on the 14th October, 1645, if the Robinson then killed by Harrison were Richard Robinson, it is quite clear that he could not have subscribed the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647: if he were dead, and had been dead two years, his name would assuredly not have appeared there; and it is to be observed that Wright, who printed his tract more than fifty years after the event, does not give the Christian name of the Robinson who was killed by General Harrison. Now, there were two other Robinsons on the stage besides Richard, and at about the same time: one of these was John Robinson, who performed in N. Richards's “*Messalina*,” which was printed in 1640; and the other William Robinson, who was one of the actors in Thomas Heywood's “*Fair Maid of the West*,” printed in 1631. As to John Robinson, we know that he died in 1641, and was registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the following distinct manner:—

Buried, John Robinson, player, 27 April, 1641.

We therefore put him out of the question: his burial would not have been thus recorded in 1641, if he had been killed in 1645. Still, there remains William Robinson, who was one of Queen Anne's players in 1619, and subsequently performed in “*The Fair Maid of the West*,” when he died we have no memorial, and our conviction is, that he was the Robinson to whom Wright alludes, and who was killed at Basing House in 1645. Richard Robinson survived to join, with his nine fellows, in the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, in 1647.

In an article in vol. ii. of “*The Shakespeare Society's Papers*,” Mr. P. Cunningham adduces a passage from a report by Hugh Peters to the House of Commons, dated 15th October,

1645, the day after the taking of Basing House, giving an account of that event: it contains the following remarkable sentence:—"There lay upon the ground, slain by the hands of Major Harrison (that godly and gallant gentleman), Major Cuffe, a man of great account among them, and a notorious papist, and Robinson, the player, who, a little before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament."

This piece of evidence seems decisive that "Robinson, the player," was killed by "that godly and gallant gentleman," Harrison; but it does not prove that it was *Richard* Robinson. In opposition to it we have not only the dedication of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in 1647, which under ordinary circumstances would be deemed sufficient, but the actual register of the burial of Richard Robinson at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, in 1647-8: neither is it merely the burial of a Richard Robinson, but of Richard Robinson, the player. It stands precisely in these terms:—

Richard Robinson, a player, buried 23 March, 1647.

It was unusual in this parish to record the business or profession of the person interred, but in this instance it seems almost to have been done in anticipation of a question, which we apprehend is now set at rest. It is due to Chalmers to state, that he was the first to maintain that Richard Robinson had not been killed by Harrison, but he was not acquainted with the precise date of the entry we have quoted. He treated Wright's anecdote as a mere invention; but there is no doubt, on the evidence of Hugh Peters, that it is true—true of William Robinson, though not of Richard.

We have not been able to discover whether Richard Robinson left any will or property behind him. In 1623 he had been indebted £29 13s. 0d. to Nicholas Tooley, (p. 239) which he, no doubt, duly paid.

JOHN SHANCKE.

Malone and, after him, Chalmers state, that Shancke¹ “performed the part of the Curate” (meaning Sir Roger, the chaplain) “in Fletcher’s *Scornful Lady*,” and they derived their information from the tract called *Historia Histrionica*, 1699, although they did not give their authority. Wright’s words are, “Pollard and Robinson were comedians; so was Shancke, who used to act Sir Roger in *The Scornful Lady*.” “*The Scornful Lady*” was, in all probability, chiefly written by Beaumont, and it was acted soon after “the Cleve Wars,” which are mentioned in it, broke out in 1609. Shancke was a servant, i. e., lover, without a name, in “*The Wild Goose Chase*,” and he was one of the performers in “*The Prophetess* :” the two last seem to have been brought out in 1621 and 1622. He was also Hilario, in Massinger’s “*Picture*,” in 1629. This is all that is known respecting the parts he sustained, or the plays in which he acted. He was on the stage in 1603, his name coming last in the enumeration of thirteen players acting under the patronage of Prince Henry :² he must at this date have been connected with Henslowe, but (perhaps on account of his low rank) he does not occur in the old manager’s “*Diary*.” In 1613 most of the members of the company had been taken into the service of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and there we again meet with Shancke, last but one in an association of fourteen players. He does

¹ His name is spelt with nearly as much variety as it was well capable of—Shancke, Shanks, Shanke, Shankes, Schank, Schankes, and Schancke. We have adopted the orthography of the folio of 1623.

² Harl. MS., No. 252.

not appear to have joined the King's dramatic servants until shortly before the confirmation of their patent in 1619, and then only in a humble capacity, for his name is postponed to all the rest. He submitted to the Master of the Revels in 1624, was mentioned in the patent of 1625, having ascended to about the middle of the list, and he was included in the warrant for cloaks in 1629, being then fifth in the enumeration. Hence it appears, as far as location may be considered a criterion, that he had been gradually rising in the profession since he became an actor at the Globe and Blackfriars.

We may conclude, from the following stanza in a humorous ballad of the time, that Shancke was celebrated for singing rhimes, and what were technically "jigs," on the stage, and that in this respect, as a low comedian, he had been the legitimate successor of Tarlton, Kempe, Phillips, Singer, &c.

That's the fat fool of the Curtain,
And the lean fool of the Bull:
Since Shancke did leave to sing his rhimes,
He is counted but a gull.
The players on the Bankside,
The round Globe and the Swan,
Will teach you idle tricks of love,
But the Bull will play the man."

This production is called "Turner's Dish of Stuff, or a Galimaufry," and it is subscribed "W. Turner," and dated 1662, but no doubt a reprint of an earlier production, written and printed while the Curtain, Bull, Globe, and Swan theatres were occupied by various successful companies. At that date (and it could not have well been later than 1625, or 1630) Shancke seems to have enjoyed a high reputation for comic performances. As early as March, 1623-4, he had produced a piece, called "Shancke's Ordinary," which Malone and Chalmers dignify by the title of "a comedy;" but it was certainly no more than the species of entertainment called "a jig," and the name it bore seems sufficiently to indicate its

character. In the only authority on which we hear of this piece, Sir Henry Herbert's Register, the entry regarding it is in these terms:—

For the King's company Shancke's ordinary, written by Shancke himself, this 16 March, 1623, £1.

Shancke seems to have lived nearly all his life in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and there we meet with the registration of the baptisms and burials of many of his children between 1610 (before which date he must of course have married, though we have found no record of the ceremony) and 1629. As Malone and Chalmers omitted to take any notice of them in the little they wrote about our actor, we shall subjoin them as they stand in the original records. The first entry is of an unnamed son, probably born out of the parish:—

Buried : a sonne of John Shanckes, player, 31 Dec., 1610.

Christened : Elizabeth, daughter of John Shanck, plaier, 10 Feb., 1611.

Buried : a daughter of John Shanck, gent., 22 March, 1614.¹

Christened : James, sonne of John Shancks, gentleman, 1 Aug., 1619.

Christened : John, sonne of John Shanckes, chandler, 2 Feb., 1620.

¹ It will be observed that there is an interval of more than four years between the burial of this child and the baptism of the next: during that period John Shancke may have lived out of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate; and in a document at St. Saviour's, Southwark, we meet with the name of "John Shancke" as a resident in Rochester Yard. "John Taylor, the poet," it is recorded, also lived there, and at the same time. Very possibly this John Shancke was our actor, but the paper containing his name has no date, though from other circumstances we may conjecture that it belongs to one of the years between 1615 and 1620. "John Shancke, a child," was buried at St. Saviour's on the 10th October, 1614; but it should seem that, if at all, our actor did not quit Cripplegate until after 22nd March, 1614-15: moreover, there was a John Shancke, a gardener, living in the parish of St. Saviour's at that period.

Christened: Thomas, sonne of John Shankes, gentleman, 18 Nov., 1621.

Buried: Thomas, sonne of John Shank, gentleman, 1 Dec., 1621.

Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Schankes, player, 3 Aug., 1623.

This Winifred must have died young, though her burial is not registered at St. Giles, Cripplegate, because, farther on in the register, we read—

Christened: Wynefred, daughter of John Shancke, player, 19 May, 1626.

The second Winifred was buried on the 16th June, 1629. It may be doubted whether John Shanckes, the “chandler,” of the fifth entry we have extracted, was the same person as John Shancke, the player, because there were other persons of the name in the parish. At the same time Shancke may, like Heminge and others, have carried on a business, besides being an actor; and if he did so, it may account for his continued residence in Cripplegate, long after he had attached himself to the company acting at the Globe and Blackfriars. He, perhaps, first took up his abode in Cripplegate, when, in 1603, he was one of the players of Prince Henry occupying the Fortune; of which association, though under a different name, he continued a member until he became one of the King’s players. The register, in one entry, gives the place of Shancke’s residence, viz., Golden Lane, in which Henslowe and Alleyn’s theatre stood; and, besides servants, several persons, who seem to have lodged with Shancke, were buried from his house: Susan Rodes and Jane Buffington “servants to Mr. Shancke,” were buried in 1618 and 1622; and Mrs. Sarah Dambrooke and Mrs. Maryan Porter, widows, were interred “from the house of John Shancke, gentleman,” in 1624: the last might be the widow of Henry Porter.

Whether all his children were by the same wife we cannot state, for the Cripplegate registers do not add (as was some-

times done in other parishes) the Christian name of the mother; but on 26th January, 1630, we meet with the marriage of a John Shancke and Elizabeth Martin, and he may have been our actor.¹ If he were, he only lived five years after this second marriage, for in a subsequent part of the volume we meet with the following registration of his interment in the parish where he had so long resided:—

Buried: John Shank, player, 27 Jan., 1635.

We know of only one actor of the name of Shancke, but he may have had a son, or some other relative, on the stage, who was living in 1642, and to whom the subjoined paragraphs (first pointed out by Isaac Reed) from "The Perfect Diurnal," of 24th October in that year, may apply:—

"This day there came three of the Lord General's Officers post from the army to London, signifying that there was a great fight on Sunday last, and being brought to the Parliament and examined, it appeared they were not sent from the army with any letters, or otherwise, but in a cowardly manner run from their captains at the beginning of the fight, and had most basely possessed the people, both as they came away, and at their coming to town, with many false rumours, giving forth in speeches that there were 20,000 men killed on both sides, and that there were not four in all their companies escaped with life besides themselves; and many other strange wonders, though altogether false, it being rather conceived that their companies, like themselves, upon the beginning of the fight, very valiantly took to their heels and ran away.

"And after further inquiry was made after these commanders, it was no wonder to hear their strange news, for they were Captain Wilson, Lieut. Whitney, and *one Shanks, a player*. An affidavit was offered to

¹ We cannot trace the death of Mrs. Shancke in any of the registers we have examined. We should not feel much hesitation in deciding that the John Shancke, who married Elizabeth Martin, was the subject of our memoir, if the Cripplegate registers did not prove that, while the actor was resident in the parish, a blacksmith, of both the same names, was also carrying on business there.

be made, that one of them said, before he went out with the Earl of Essex, that he would take the Parliament's pay, but would never fight against any of the King's party; and the other two were very rude and insolent persons: whereupon the House ordered they should all three be committed to the Gatehouse, and brought to condign punishment, according to martial law, for their base cowardliness."

Whatever be the truth or falsehood of this story, and whether the "Shanks" above named were or were not "a player," it is very evident that he was not the man who had been a "principal actor" in Shakespeare's plays, because he was buried, as we have shown, about seven years before. Malone and Chalmers thought that what we have above quoted applied to John Shancke, and conjectured that he was dead in 1647, probably because his name is not found at the end of the dedication of the folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in that year. Had they resorted to the registers at Cripplegate, and examined them with any attention, they would have seen that he was interred in the churchyard of St. Giles, in the commencement of the year 1635-6.

JOHN RICE.

This "principal actor in all these plays" comes last in the folio of 1623 ; and we perhaps possess as little distinct information regarding him, as respecting any others of the more obscure names in the list of twenty-six performers of Shakespeare's dramas. We do not find Rice's name in any parish register at all in a way to enable us to identify him, and we have very little other documentary or traditional evidence. Malone dismisses him in five lines, and one of the two points he states is a decided oversight.¹

Rice was among the twelve players who, on 29th August, 1611, entered into an engagement with Henslowe to perform under his management at the Fortune.² Whether Rice had been previously connected with any company of players, we have no means of determining. He sustained an unimportant character called Pescara, in Webster's "Duchess of Malfi," about 1622, when it was revived, and he may have appeared in the same part, and in the same piece, when it was first brought out by the King's players ; but we think it improbable, because, when James I. granted the confirmation of his patent in 1619, the name of John Rice is not found in the list of the company.³ It is true, he may have been included in the general

¹ Namely, that John Rice "was perhaps brother to Stephen Rice, clerk, who is mentioned in the will of John Heminge." The clergyman of St. Saviour's, Southwark, whose name is introduced into Heminge's will, was "*John* Rice, clerk ;" and John Rice, the actor, could not, therefore, be his brother.

² Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, p. 98.

³ Rice was an actor in "The False One," but his character, and the date when the play was brought out, cannot be ascertained. Burbadge

terms, "and the rest of their associates," but this is hardly likely, if he deserved such distinct mention in the folio of 1623. In the year after that volume was published, Rice was among the eleven players who made a submission to the Master of the Revels for acting a drama without license: he was one of his Majesty's servants when Charles I. granted the patent of 1625; but he had disappeared from the company four years afterwards, when the usual quantities of cloth and velvet were issued to them for cloaks. By this date he had perhaps retired from the profession, or was dead. It is not impossible that "John Rice, clerk, of St. Saviour's, in Southwark," to whom Heminge, in 1630, left "twenty shillings as a remembrance of his love," should have been our actor, who, having quitted the stage soon after 1625, had subsequently taken orders. Such changes were not without precedent: Stephen Gosson had been a player and a dramatic author, yet afterwards obtained the capital living of St. Botolph, Bishopgate.¹ The Rev. John Rice was probably only curate of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

In the token-books of that parish the name of John Rice had no part in it, and he was probably then dead, which precludes the supposition that Beaumont aided Fletcher in the composition of it. That he had some coadjutor appears indisputable.

¹ He had the living in 1609, if not earlier, and, in consequence, his wife and daughter were present in that year at the marriage of the Earl of Argyle and the daughter of Sir W. Cornwallis, as appears by the following extract from the register:—

"Archibald Campbell, Earle of Argille, and Anne Cornwallis, the daughter of Sir William Cornwallis, Knight, were married the 30 Nov., 1609, p lic.ex. off. M^ri Kempe, Rus. Facult., and in the presence of theise whose names are as followeth: *videlicet*, Sir Edward Cecill, Knighte, Sir Jhone Gwynne, Knight, Mr. Robert Bacon, Esquier, the Ladye Bonde and hir gentlewoman, Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gosson, her daughter, and Mr. Christopher Newdicke, gent, with divers others."

occurs, but we can only guess that it refers in one instance to the actor: the date is 1619, when "John Rice *et uxor*" lived "near the playhouse." This establishes also, if it were our actor, that he was married. It is our opinion that he was not early enough a member of the King's players to have performed originally in any of the plays of our great dramatist.

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THE END.

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PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE.



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KARL SIMROCK,

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AND

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M. KARL SIMROCK,
ON THE
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WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS

BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

HON. M.R.I.A., HON. M.R.S.L., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., ETC.



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H I S E X C E L L E N C Y M . D E S I L V A I N V A N D E W E Y E R .

The Council of the Shakespeare Society desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications; the Editors of the several works being alone responsible for the same.

P R E F A C E.

An opinion has been gaining ground, and has been encouraged by writers whose judgment is entitled to respectful consideration, that almost if not all the commentary on the works of Shakespeare of a necessary and desirable kind has already been given to the world. We are told by the late Mr. Barron Field, a gentleman who had paid minute attention to Shakespearian criticism, that "enough, and more than enough," has been produced of contemporary illustration and philosophical commentary. Even Mr. Collier, though with more hesitation, evidently leans towards the same view of the question; and several able writers in newspapers and other periodicals have expressed a similar conviction.

Mr. Field's dictum is certainly to be adopted in one point of consideration. We need not be told that the spirit of most of Shakespeare's plays will be appreciated by an intelligent reader, were he compelled to read them in the most inaccurate edition that was ever printed, and without the assistance of a line of commentary. The "Tempest" will yield him pleasure, albeit he may not be acquainted with

the meaning of *scamels*, or whether *wreck* or *rack* be the adopted reading. The "rotten carcase of a *bult*" may create a momentary embarrassment; but the surpassing interest of the tale will carry him too rapidly to its development, for the *durior lectio* to be a serious obstacle. Ariel's songs, those songs of beauty, never forgotten when once heard, will be estimated were they presented with the rudest punctuation. And so of other plays. Take any edition of Shakespeare, where the dramas are to be found in their full proportions, and the author's general meaning and purpose will be understood, in defiance of a thousand difficulties of this description.

Yet, when the case is fairly exhibited, few persons would be found to deny that every fragment of Shakespeare's language is worthy of instructive explanation. If we read with pleasure where so much is obscure, shall we not receive greater delight when the meaning of every passage in his great works is fully revealed? The real question is whether this consummation has been already accomplished by the commentators and editors. Mr. Collier, in the preface to his edition, remarks, that "my main object has been to ascertain the true language of the poet, and my next to encumber his language with no more in the shape of comment than is necessary to render the text intelligible; and I may add that I have the utmost confidence in the perspicuity of Shakespeare's mode of expressing his own meaning when once his precise words have been established." But the latter observation will apply only to those portions of his

works where the language has not become obsolete, and where allusions to the manners, customs, or occurrences of the author's own age are not to be discovered.

The pages of Shakespeare are replete with forgotten allusions and obsolete phraseology, as any one may ascertain from a careful perusal of such scenes as we meet with at the commencement of "Much Ado about Nothing," and in several other plays.

Criticism on the works of Shakespeare may be classed into three principal divisions:

I. PHILOLOGICAL, including the grammatical construction used by the poet, idiomatic phraseology, explanations of obsolete words, and the systems of metre.

II. PHILOSOPHICAL, including every kind of æsthetic or psychological commentary.

III. HISTORICAL, including inquiries into the sources of the plots, local and contemporary illustration of realities (not words), costume, and all that relates to history, geography, chronology, &c.

It is no dishonour to the labours of the elder critics or modern editors to admit that much remains to be done in each of these departments, especially in the first, before an earnest inquirer can form a Shakespearian library in which all his difficulties shall be solved, or at least intelligently discussed. The consideration of the subject is not irrelevant to the preface of a work treating on a branch of criticism on which we require less information than on almost

any other. It is my desire to combat the belief that these studies are unnecessary, whatever direction they may take. If we select any play, the "Merry Wives of Windsor," for example—a very unfavourable one for the purposes of my argument, no play being better annotated in the variorum edition—we shall find amongst the unexplained words and phrases, not noticed by Mr. Collier or Mr. Knight:¹ 1, possibilities; 2, fault; 3, marry trap; 4, veneys; 5, fico; 6, intention; 7, yellowness; 8, are you avis'd of that; 9, meddle or make; 10, gally-mawfry; 11, Good even and twenty, the comma being erroneously placed after *even*; 12, his wife's frailty; 13, sith; 14, admittance; 15, *aqua-vitæ*; 16, foin; 17, traverse; 18, punto; 19, stock; 20, reverse; 21, distance; 22, Montant; 23, clapperclaw; 24, laid; 25, having; 26, tire-valiant; 27, whiting-time; 28, buck-washing; 29, make a shaft or a bolt on't; 30, slighted; 31, thrumm'd hat; 32, rag; 33, come off; 34, urchins; 35, tricking; 36, mince; 37, lewdsters; 38, scut; 39, orphan heirs of fixed destiny; 40, hodge-pudding. All these are either obsolete, used in senses not known at the present day, or require explanation, owing to the peculiar manner in which they are

¹ This list might be greatly increased, and the selecting only those words unexplained by *both the Editors* above-mentioned renders it more limited than if we were speaking merely of one edition; Mr. Knight having notes on many passages passed over without remark by Mr. Collier, and *vice versa*. But, taking a very low average, and supposing only sixty in each play are still left without necessary annotation, we have upwards of two thousand obsolete words and phrases in Shakespeare left without any explanation by the two latest and best Editors.

introduced. The reader must, however, bear in mind I am not by this implying any censure on the meritorious editions of Mr. Knight and Mr. Collier. Both contain many excellencies, and both have added greatly to our previous knowledge; they are, indeed, the only editions that have appeared for many years, possessing good claims to originality; but it will, I think, be evident that much remains to be done that can fairly be demanded by an intelligent inquirer.

It is with the earnest hope that the explanatory study of the plays of Shakespeare, if I may so express myself, may not be suffered to remain neglected, these few observations have been advanced. There is now an appropriate medium for the publication of any researches in this direction in the "Papers" of the Shakespeare Society, a periodical which has undoubtedly contributed much valuable information to the departments of biography and literary criticism, however much its utility may have been questioned by those who expect uniform excellence, a perfection not attained by any miscellany of the kind. We must not apply the motto, *Ex uno disce omnes*; for, even in the best works, time will discover imperfections on the surface, and haply sweep them away. How much more, then, must a magazine, formed from a mass of stray and gratuitous contributions, however skilful the Editor, be subject to the admission of essays which perplex rather than satisfy. Notwithstanding the liability to this defect, the series is a most valuable one to the Shakespearian student, and would, I sincerely believe, be far more

important, would they who have the opportunity bestow their attention on those passages of the works of our great poet which have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

There is another division of criticism, extremely important to an Editor, which is unquestionably still in its infancy: I allude to the grammatical construction of the English language in Shakespeare's time, especially of the colloquial speech so much employed by the great poet. Gifford was the only critic who had really paid any attention to the subject; for all that his successors, Dyce, Collier, and others, have accomplished, is the explanation of certain grammatical idioms previously misunderstood. None of these writers, however, have attempted to analyze the results of their reading into a system; and many of the most usual constructions in Elizabethan grammar are evidently unknown. I may mention, as an example, a well-known passage in the *Tempest*—

“ You are three men of sin, whom destiny
 (That hath to instrument this lower world,
And what is in't) the never-surfeited sea
Hath caus'd to belch up you”—

where, if Mr. Collier had known *that the duplication of the pronoun is the rule, not the exception, in particular constructions*, he would scarcely have thought the second *you* in this passage had “ crept into the old text by mere inadvertence.” None of the Editors of Shakespeare, as far as I can find, have *explained* this and other grammatical rules of a similar description; yet surely it should be necessary for an Editor

to have a knowledge of the grammatical construction of the language in which the author wrote. The language of Elizabeth's time differed very much in its construction from that used in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Here is a field of criticism, which requires the labour of many students for many years. The materials are scattered, but not unattainable; and a collection of idiomatic phrases and peculiar constructions would soon lead to a glimpse of the system, the history of the formation of which should be collected from the time of the departure of the terminal contractions (the representatives of the vowel terminations of the Anglo-Saxon), in the fifteenth century.

Passing over a very important department, that of philosophical criticism, which has the advantage of employing the pens of some of the most able writers of the present day, we may turn to that curious branch of inquiry which is the subject of the present volume, and which indirectly illustrates the history of the poet's mind, in exhibiting to us the simple materials from which his wonderful dramas were constructed. The original tales used by Shakespeare, chiefly consisting of translations, have been collected by Mr. Collier in his "Shakespeare's Library," 1842. The work of M. Simrock will form an appropriate supplement to that excellent collection, and although, perhaps, he has too frequently entered into discussions that can scarcely be considered illustrative of Shakespeare, there is a great deal of curious matter in his Remarks, which will repay perusal. The

Germans have access to a great variety of works connected with the history of fiction, that are little known in this country, or procured with great difficulty; and M. Simrock has made very good use of them. The Remarks were published at the end of a collection of the tales used by Shakespeare, collected and translated by Dr. Echtermeyer, M. Henschel, and M. Simrock, 8vo., Berlin, 1831.

It is right to add, that the Editor of this volume is not in any way responsible for the translation, which was made by a competent person under the direction of the Council of the Shakespeare Society, and is believed to be a faithful version of the original.

J. O. H.

Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill.

June, 1850.

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REMARKS
ON THE
PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMAS,
BY
M. KARL SIMROCK.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, William Jones, and Thomas White. The dates are: 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813. The list is followed by a section of text that is also written in cursive. This text appears to be a description of the events that took place during the period covered by the list. It mentions the names of the individuals listed and describes their actions and the circumstances surrounding them. The text is written in a clear, legible hand, and it provides a detailed account of the events. The final part of the document is a signature, which is written in a cursive script. The signature is of the same person who wrote the text, and it is dated 1814. The document is a historical record, and it provides valuable information about the lives of the individuals listed and the events that took place during the period covered by the list.

M. SIMROCK,
ON THE
PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

I. ROMEO AND JULIET.

The unhappy amour of Romeo and Juliet is related by Girolamo de la Corte, in his *Historia di Verona*, (Veron. 1594, 96, 2 vols. 4to.¹) as a real occurrence which had taken place at Verona, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nothing is more natural than the supposition of Eschenburg, by whom this subject has been treated, that the novelists may have borrowed their tale from the historian: yet the exact reverse appears to be the truth, the historian having, in this instance, borrowed of the novelists, though Girolamo declares that he has himself seen the remains of the vault in which the lovers were laid.² A. W. von Schlegel (*Kritische*

¹ Reprinted at Venice, 4to., 1744. In the fourth volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers, p. 6, is an account of an Italian poem on the story of Romeo and Juliet, printed at Venice in 1553, which has escaped the commentators. The writer of the paper has given an interesting analysis of this rare work, but does not observe it is Bandello's story, with a few immaterial variations.—ED.

² Breval's testimony is curious, though not of much value. "Shakespeare, as I have found upon a strict search into the histories of Verona, has varied very little either in his names, characters, or other circum-

Schriften, i., 388) had previously expressed his doubts as to the historical foundation of the story; for Girolamo continued his history of Verona to the year 1560; and the two first parts of Bandello's Tales had appeared at Lucca in 1554, in which edition the story in question is the ninth novel of the second part. Long before Bandello, (1529) Luigi da Porto¹ had told this same story in his single *Novella*, printed for the first time in 1535, and an earlier historical testimony is no where to be found.

Luigi da Porto, in the introduction to his story, quotes, as his authority, the *vitâ voce* information of his archer, a Veronese named Peregrino. He tells us that, having in his youth sojourned some time in Friuli, he was riding in company with two of his people and this archer, from Gradisca to Udino, and being in deep melancholy, arising from an unfortunate attachment, he kept aloof from his companions. The Veronese, a man of fifty, himself a victim to the tender passion, and whose forte consisted in the relation of touching love-stories, noticed this circumstance, and divined his thoughts: whereupon he rode up to him, and, partly to amuse him, partly to warn him of the unhappy consequences of love, told him the story.

Luigi's archer gave as his authority a relation of his father's, but doubted the historical truth of the occurrence, because he had read in some old chronicles that the Capelletti and Montecchi had always belonged to the same party. This appears

stances, from truth and matter of fact. He observed this rule, indeed, in most of his tragedies, which are so much the more moving, as they are not only grounded upon nature and history, but likewise as he keeps closer to both than any dramatic writer we ever had besides himself."—Breval ap. Upton, ed. 1748, p. 74. Breval reproves Otway, alluding to Caius Marius.—ED.

¹ Who died in the year 1531. There are four editions of his book, 1535, 1539, 1553, and 1731. It is also reprinted in the *Novelliero Italiano*, 1754.—ED.

also from the passage of Dante quoted by Schlegel, (*Purgatorio*, canto vi.) according to which both families were Ghibellines. Dante himself visited Verona shortly after the rule of Bartolomeo de la Scala, and stayed there some time, but mentions neither the story of the two lovers nor the quarrel of their family, though he relates many similar incidents, and had the opportunity of introducing it in the thirteenth canto of the *Inferno*, where he speaks of those who had committed violence on themselves. The only chronicle of this period which has remained, says as little of these dissensions as those which Luigi's archer professed to have seen. Girolamo de la Corte, on whose historical accuracy Maffei places but little reliance, appears to have made use, therefore, of this story, which two well-known novelists had related before him, only to fill a gap in his *History of Verona*, which is very obscure at the period of the sway of the house of Scala.

According to the account of a still earlier novelist, Masuccio di Salerno, whose *Novellino* was first printed at Naples in 1476,¹ a similar event happened in Sienna. It is true that most of his fifty tales contain real incidents: at least, he declares, at the end of the book, calling God to witness, that all these stories had really happened in his own times. We will here give an abridgment of the tale in question, the agreement of which with that of *Romeo and Juliet* has been already remarked by Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction*, p. 255, ed. 1845. In the edition before us, (8vo., Vinegia, 1531) it is the third tale of the fourth book.

In Sienna lived a young man of good family, named Mariotto Mignanelli, who was deeply in love with a girl named Gianozza, and had succeeded in engaging her affections. Some impediment, it is not stated what, stood in the way of their public marriage. Having, therefore, no other means of being united, they resolved upon a secret union, and effected this by bribing an Augustine monk, who per-

¹ Reprinted at Venice in 1525.—ED.

formed the ceremony. Not long afterwards, Mariotto had the misfortune to kill another citizen of note of Sienna, with whom he had a quarrel. For this he was condemned by the Podesta to perpetual banishment, and obliged to fly to Alexandria, where he had an uncle, one Sir Nicolo Mignanelli, a rich merchant. At his departure, his beloved Gianozza promised to write often to him; and his brother Gargano also promised to give him information respecting her health and circumstances. Shortly afterwards, however, the father of Gianozza found a husband for her, and she was unable to oppose his desire for her marriage, having no reason which she dared allege against it. She pretended, therefore, to consent to the marriage, but endeavoured to escape it by means as daring as they were extraordinary. She bribed the Augustine monk who had married her to prepare a potion which should cast her for three days into a slumber resembling death. She drank it boldly, and was buried in the church of St. Augustine. Before this, she had sent to inform her lover of her purpose, but the messenger was taken by pirates, and never reached him. He received, however, another letter, written by his brother, informing him of the death of his mistress, and of that of her father, who had, indeed, died of grief for the loss of his daughter. Upon this, the unhappy Mariotto resolved to go immediately to Sienna, and either die of grief upon her grave, or suffer himself to be taken by the officers of justice, and end his life by the sentence of the law. He was taken in an attempt to open the vault, and condemned to death. Meanwhile, Gianozza had been taken out of her grave the night after her burial, and, as soon as she came to herself, had set out, dressed in men's clothes, for Alexandria, hoping there to be united to her lover. Here she learns, to her dismay, that Mariotto, at the news of her death, had gone to Sienna, and she resolves immediately to return thither also. She arrives just three days after his execution, and dies of grief, falling on the dead body of her lover.

It is easy to see that both stories agree in all their essential points; almost the only variation being that Mariotto chooses a different kind of death from Romeo. Meanwhile, this also is given us as an historical fact, but we are not on that account obliged to give credence to it. It is possible that the two stories may each have happened, the one in Sienna, the other in Verona: similar incidents must always be repeated; for the nature of love is reflected in them; but in all a proof of their historical truth is wanting.

It has been attempted to trace this fiction still further. Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, (ed. 1839, p. 436, cf. Dunlop, p. 35) compares it with the Middle Greek romance of Xenophon Ephesius, and has expressed a belief that Luigi da Porto has availed himself of an extract from it.¹ Anthia, the heroine of this romance, takes a sleeping potion to escape a hated marriage. She is buried, and on waking is carried away by robbers, who had come to plunder the vault of treasure. But Luigi da Porto could scarcely have known this romance. We should rather imagine that the story, of which a single lost trait is found in Xenophon Ephesius, (the same occurring elsewhere, in a similar isolated manner, as, for example, in *Cinthio*, iii., 5) was already known in the time of the Greek writer. And as Luigi da Groto, surnamed Cieco d'Adria,² in his tragedy on this sub-

¹ Most readers will agree with Dunlop in the opinion that, as the work of Xenophon Ephesius was not published in the lifetime of Luigi da Porto, the resemblance is not sufficiently strong to induce a belief that it was seen by that novelist.—ED.

² The edition of this play in my possession is entitled "*La Hadriana Tragedia di Luigi Groto Cieco d'Hadria, novamente ristampata et ricercetta*," Venet., 1612, 12mo. The dedication is dated November 29th, 1578, and in the course of the Prologue the author says—

"La cui historia, scritta in duri marmi,
Ma men duri però della lor fede,
Trovò l'autor, con queste note chiusa
A te, che troverai dopò tanti anni

ject, in which also occurs the character of a garrulous nurse, refers to old annals of his country, it seems clear that an ancient love story, circulating in various forms, and appearing continually to renew itself, has taken root in all these places. In our opinion, the same features may be recognised in the three most noted love-tales of all times: those of Hero and Leander, and Pyramis and Thisbe, among the ancients; and that of Tristan and Isolde, among the moderns; and we consider them in all essential points identical with the story of Romeo and Juliet. The last mentioned is only the most modern form, the last *renaissance* of the ancient myth, which represented the idea of love, and of its tragic fate, in the simplest and most consistent manner. The idea common to all these fictions appears to us to be the following.

Love, in its concentration, knows no other law than its own, which compels it to fulfil itself. It conquers all obstacles, and breaks through every restraint of custom, to reach that object which alone is of any value in its eyes. But whilst striving after this, it so far renounces all the conditions of earthly existence, that the least accident seems sufficient to tear entirely loose the feeble bond which binds it to the world, and to avenge the external world, and the rules of custom, for the contempt it has endured. This chance, how-

La scoltura di questo acerbo caso;
 Si commette, che tu debbi disporlo
 In guisa, che rappresentar si possa.
 Porgendo un vivo esempio in quilla etate
 D'un' amor fido a i giovani, e a le don ne.
 Benche più lungo spatio ti convenga
 Stringer di tempo, che non porta l'uso
 Del che per uscarti, hai qui licenza
 D'aggiungere una parte, anzi il principio."

This play is probably rare, for no copy of it appears to be in the Bodleian Library, not even in Douce's collection; yet, so little is this class of literature sought after, that my copy was bought at a stall for the sum of *sixpence*!—ED.

ever, cannot affect the passion of love, so long as it remains external thereto; for then would love conquer and set it aside, as it does everything else belonging to the outward world. This obstacle must, therefore, disguise itself in the nature of love, and produce an error with regard to its object. When this has been accomplished for one, and he or she has voluntarily resigned the bond which connected him with the earth, then the error has become for the other a melancholy truth. This latter party follows, then, the one which has gone before; and both take refuge from this troubled being in a higher and happier life, where all will be fulfilled which they strove in vain to realize here. Thus the lovers perish not so much by means of the outward world as by the accidents of love itself.

It is clear that the several stories which contain this idea are not necessarily different, merely because they in one case appear to take the part of lovers and love, in another to defend parents and the duties against which the lovers have offended. The latter form is found in those versions of the story which antiquity received from the East, whilst the new forms of the fiction speak rather in favour of love, and incline to place the fault on the parents' side.

In *Pyramis and Thisbe*, the obstacle which separates the lovers is symbolized in the most simple and material manner by a wall which separates their houses. In *Hero and Leander*, it is a strait of the sea:

“Tearing Europe's shores from Asia,
It divides not love from love.”

And in the German ballads which turn upon this story, (*Knaben Wunderhorn*, i., 236, ii., 252) it is a broad river, or deep lake—

Es waren zwei Königskinder,
Die hatten einander gar lieb:
Sie konnten zusammen nicht kommen,
Das Wasser war viel zu tief.¹

¹ “Two King's children were there—who loved each other well—but could not meet—the water was much too deep.”—ED.

But love succeeds in overcoming these impediments. A secret chink is formed in the wall, through which the lovers see and converse; the strait, or the lake, is swum over.

“If thou canst but swim, love,
Swim over here to me.”

In the German ballads which represent the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, (*Knaben Wunderhorn*, i. 275; ii., 243) the wall is not mentioned, but the impediment is represented as a moral one:—

“That by their parents’ watching,
The lovers could not meet.”

With the ancients, a moral obstacle is invariably concealed by the material one represented. Thus in the “*Metamorphoses*,” iv., 61—

“*Sed vetuere patres*”—

and in the *Heroides*, xvij., 13—

“*Non poteram celare meos, velut ante, parentes;
Quemque tegi volumus, non latuisset amor.*”

Schiller thus expressed it—

“But the parents’ hostile anger
Sundered the betrothed pair.”

Originally, this impediment was exclusively material, and the moral one is not at all mentioned in the German ballads of the story of Leander. In *Romeo and Juliet*, the obstacle certainly occurs as a moral one; but the enmity of the two families, so accordant with Italian circumstances, put instead of the actual division, has something in it natural and material; and one may find, indeed, the partition physically represented in the lattice through which the lovers speak; in the confessional with the little window; and in the garden-wall. Romeo’s words in Shakespeare may serve for a confirmation of this:—

“*Jul.* How cam’st thou hither? tell me; and wherefore?
The orchard walls are high, and hard to climb;

And the place death, considering who thou art,
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.

Rom. With Love's light wings did I o'erperch these walls;
For stony limits cannot hold Love out.
And what Love can do, that dares Love attempt;
Therefore, thy kinsmen are no stop¹ to me."

There is also a passage of the same kind in "*Erotokritos*," a modern Greek heroic poem of Vincenzo Carnara, between 1630 and 1650. Arethusa, the daughter of King Heracles, of Athens, loves Erotokritos, the son of the minister Pezostatos. The lovers speak through a window of iron lattice-work in the wall which divides the royal palace from that of the minister. (Compare Iken's *Leucothea*, i., 187.) This confirms the identity of Romeo and Juliet with Pyramus and Thisbe.²

In the further course of this story the resemblance with that of Romeo and Juliet is striking. The lovers, to whom the chink in the wall allows no perfect union, resolve to steal out of the city in the night, and to meet by the tomb of Ninus, under a mulberry-tree which overshadows a cool spring. In the German ballad, they write letters to each other.

"And in them there was mention made
Of a cool well and greenwood slade,
Whereby the first arrived should wait
For him, or her, who tarried late."

The danger in which they here stand is shadowed out by the mention of the tomb of Ninus, which alludes to Death, already watching, as it were, for his prey. In the story of Romeo and Juliet, the same effect is produced by the appoint-

¹ The early quarto edition reads *let*; the edition of 1609 and the folio of 1623 has *stop*. The meaning is exactly the same.—ED.

² This deduction appears scarcely warranted by the previous statements.—ED.

ment at the tomb of the Capulets, which is used as the means to effect the union of the lovers. We must imagine to ourselves the place where Pyramus and Thisbe meet, as

“Loca plena metus,”

as Pyramus expresses himself in Ovid: it is a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts, not less dangerous than the Hellespont, to which Leander trusts himself. But these terrors would have inflicted no injury on the lovers, had not love itself been destructive to them. A lioness, dripping with the blood of slaughtered cattle, comes to quench her thirst at the well at which Thisbe, who had arrived first, is waiting for her lover. She flies into a cave, and thus escaped the danger; but, in the haste of flight, lets fall part of her dress, which the lioness tears with her gory mouth, and thus arises the unhappy error which causes the destruction of both. In the German ballad is found an incident peculiar to it. The lioness brings forth her young on the mantle, and carries them away; and the lover, on his arrival, finds it in the condition above described.

Pyramus is now in the same error as Romeo. He imagines his beloved dead, because he finds her mantle torn and disfigured with blood. He attributes to himself the guilt of her death, and slays himself upon her mantle; so Romeo drinks the poison over what he imagines to be the dead body of Juliet. Now comes Thisbe out of her cavern, as Juliet awakes from the sleeping potion, finds her lover in his blood, and the still smoking sword by his side:—

“Into her troubled heart she drove
The gory sword, and died for love;
And God, we trust, would not deliver
Her soul to penal gloom for ever,
Since that love rulcth, as we see,
All things in this sad world that be.”

But before her death she conjures her parents to grant her and her lover a common grave; and this last wish is fulfilled. One urn encloses their mortal remains, and the Gods perform a miracle on the mulberry-tree which overshadows it; for its fruits, which their blood had sprinkled, hitherto white, are henceforth changed into red.

The coincidence in the further course of the story of Hero and Leander is not so evident. It is true that the older poems which treated on this fable are lost, and the echo of them, in the *Heroides* of Ovid, and the relation of the grammarian Musæus, is probably not without *lacunæ*. We may refer, for our instruction, to Schiller's representation. An accurate comparison of the various modes of treating this subject may be found in Valentin Schmidt's excellent work, "*Ballads and Romances of the German poets Bürger, Stollberg, and Schiller,*" 269; but the older German ballads on this story are omitted.

In the poem of the two Kings' children, already mentioned, it is not the storm by which Leander perishes, but the extinguishing of the torch which Hero had lighted destroys him.

"Ah! love, if thou canst swim,
So swim across to me,
And I will light three candles,
A guiding mark for thee.

"There sat a nun, false sister,
And made as she did sleep;
But she blew out the tapers—
The boy sank in the deep."

In Musæus and Schiller the two causes concur; —

"And the torch, his goal and guide,
Vanished as the wild winds blew:
Terror filled the waters wide—
Terror filled the dark shores, too."

The extinguishing of the torch, however, would have been superfluous, if the storm alone had had power to overcome the strength of the lover. This circumstance can assume significance only when we premise that Leander, according to the meaning of the story, would have conquered the storm, if the torch had not been extinguished. It may be that it is to be understood thus—that Leander withstood the power of the storm as long as the torch beamed forth to him the image of his beloved, and raised his courage; and that his strength gave way when the star of Love seemed to be extinguished with the torch. But the extinguishing of the fire which the beloved object tended might, however, have led Leander into the error that she had fallen a sacrifice to the frightful storm which was raging over the head of the lover. According to the last explanation, which has the analogy of the cognate stories in its favour, the idea already mentioned would develop itself here in all its parts; inasmuch as chance, which here appears in the shape of the storm, had no immediate power over the lovers, but must first take the form of an error concerning the beloved object. Even on the first supposition, the same idea comes into action, inasmuch as Leander is subdued, not by the power of the sea, which he had so often overcome, but by his passion; the storm, which in itself could not touch him, must seek an indirect way, through his feelings, by extinguishing the torch which inspired his courage. The suicide of Hero, which closes the history, runs exactly parallel with that of Thisbe. We have another German ballad on this story, wherein the torch also occupies a conspicuous position. The lady affixes the torch to a float of wood, and sends it over the water to her lover, who holds it up in his hand as he swims to her. The accidental disappearance of this excites the idea of his death, as in the story of Hero and Leander.

In a novel of Straparola, (vii., 2) which perhaps we shall give afterwards, it is the maiden who swims over the strait.

Her brothers, who disapprove of the acquaintance, and wish to punish her for it, suffer her to follow a false light, and to travel so long through the waves, that her strength fails her, and she sinks.

In the story of Tristan and Isolde, with which the reader is probably acquainted, the impediment is represented as a moral one; for Isolde is King Mark's wife, or at least passes for such; and Tristan's connexion with her, if not adultery, is at least treason against his friend.¹ On the other hand, the duty of vengeance for blood enjoins upon Isolde to hate Tristan, because he has slain her uncle Morolt. Besides this, the lovers have to encounter a large number of external impediments, which, however, cannot be considered as symbols of moral hinderance. We may, however, discover such a symbol in the naked sword which Tristan has laid between himself and Isolde, when Mark finds them sleeping in the cavern in the forest. This placing of the sword, as is known, recurs in many stories,² but every where signifies the duty,

¹ Here the story of love touches upon that of friendship. The collision of these two passions is handled in three stories, originally identical, namely, those of Tristan, Sigurd, and Amicus and Amelius. In Tristan, the collision is decided in favour of love: in Amicus and Amelius, in favour of friendship. The story of Sigurd and Gunnar halts between the two. All three stories have in common the fight with the dragon, the goblet of love, and the laying down of the sword. The story leaves us in doubt whether Sigurd did not break his faith to Gunnar; the daughter, (Aslaug) who was born from his intimacy with Brunhilda, seems to show that he was not more in earnest with the placing of the sword than Tristram was. In the further course of the story, Gunnar conceives against Sigurd, for this same cause, a suspicion perhaps not wholly groundless; and in consequence of this, Sigurd is betrayed. Here it remains undecided whether he fell a victim to injured friendship, or wounded love. The further consideration of this view is reserved for a treatise on the "friendship-fable."

² The incident is familiar to every reader, occurring in the tale of "Aladdin," who lies down by the side of the princess with the sword betwixt them, to show that he deserved to lose his life if he attempted

or the law which separates those who lie side by side. So in the story of Sigurd and Gunnar, of Amicus and Amelius, &c., where it is the duty towards his friend and step-brother which separates Sigurd, &c.; in the shape of a naked sword from Brunhilda, &c. In the friendship-story, this law is regarded; for the sense of this story is, that love itself, otherwise the mightiest of all passions, cannot move the friend to falsehood against his friend. In the love-story, on the contrary, it is set aside, like every other obstacle, and serves only to blind the good-natured Mark, who now trusts fully in their innocence and continence. We are authorized in making this emblematic application of the sword to the *separating* influence of moral causes, as we have already applied the wall and the stream in the foregoing stories, since the *uniting* influence, love, appears emblemized in the love potion which Tristan drinks with Isolde. This symbolical application of the obstacle in the sword is supported by the circumstance that Tristan's end is produced by a wound, though, as the story now stands, this has no farther relation with the incident in the cavern; but at his death are found all the peculiarities, answering to the main idea, which we have already noticed in the preceding stories. For Tristan, in a combat, had been struck in the old wound, which Isolde has once healed, and Isolde only can heal again. He sends a messenger to her with a ring, as a token, bidding him hoist a white sail if he brings her back, and a black one, if she remains behind. Isolde follows the messenger; the white sail waves from the ship; but the other Isolde, named the white-handed, brings to Tristan, through jealousy, the false report that a black sail is mounted. At this news, Tristan sinks back in despair, his heart breaks, and his beloved, who had been hastening to him, falls senseless upon his corpee.¹ Both

her chastity. A burlesque allusion to the custom occurs in the old play of the "Jovial Crew."—ED.

¹ See the metrical version of Sir Tristrem, edited by Sir W. Scott, p. 315, and the notes to that curious poem.—ED.

were laid together in one grave, and over Tristan's body was planted a vine, over Isolde's a rose-bush, and these grew one into the other, and could not again be separated. Here, also, love would have conquered all impediments, had not chance or malice had the power to create an error with regard to the beloved object; and hereby the lovers perished, not so much by means of the external world as by means of themselves. The coincidence of this with the preceding stories, already considered, is self-evident: the sail may be compared with the extinguished torch in Hero and Leander; and the white-handed Isolde with the "lewd nun" who blows out the candles in the German ballad. The story of Tristan and Isolde has also this external resemblance with that of Romeo and Juliet, that Isolde, like Juliet, dies of grief on the body of her lover, while Thisbe and Hero put an end to their existence by suicide. But this is wholly accidental, for, in truth, distress destroys both Thisbe and Hero, as it had already slain the lovers entangled in the unhappy error, Romeo, Tristan, Pyramus, and (if our formerly mentioned theory as to the extinguished torch be tenable) Leander also, though some of them anticipated its effect by suicide.

How popular, also, and universally prevalent is the story which expresses the above thought,¹ is shown (among other proofs) by a tolerably widely-circulated "people's book," entitled "The remarkable history of the Imperial Austrian officer, Herr von Friesland, and of the Lady Theresa von Hartenstein, which happened at Prague in the year 1819—Berlin, Zürrgibel," where the same result is found, without any visible external derivation.

¹ This subject might be extended to an indefinite length, and illustrated by references to English stories; but not being quite as enthusiastic as the author, or so well able of bearing in mind the remote connexion between the tales and Shakespeare's drama, perhaps it will be better to pass them over with the remark that English readers will, in general, fail to see the utility of tracing out these very remote resemblances.—ED.

If the above analysis, however, has shown the coincidence of the four best known love-stories in their most essential points, we must not, on that account, refer them to the same original, nor suspect an external operation of one upon the other. We must rather explain the common features from the idea previously mentioned, which binds all these stories. Doubtless, an unprejudiced consideration of related stories would lead, in the greater number of cases, to a similar result, and would far oftener show an inward connexion, through a common thought, than an outward one, through tradition and relation; though this last case may often occur, and not unfrequently both may act in concert.

With regard to Shakespeare, the comparison we have instituted shows that the story handed down to him, though it was represented simply and unworthily enough in the state in which he received it, yet had in itself an infinitely high value; for it expressed an imperishable true thought, in a highly poetical manner. That Shakespeare's treatment first gave full right to this story, and surrounded it with the lustre in which it deserved to shine, redounds so much to the praise of the poet, that we need not have recourse to improbable conjectures to palliate his close adherence in his tragedy to the material already provided. For instance, according to A. W. von Schlegel, Shakespeare knew only Arthur Brooke's wretched¹ metrical version of our story, ("The tragical history of Romeus and Juliet, 1562," newly published, 1582; reprinted in the edition of Johnson and Steevens); according to others, only this and the translation of Painter, in the second volume of "The Palace of Pleasure." Arthur Brooke,

¹ Mr. Collier, who has reprinted this poem in his Shakespeare's Library, has a very different opinion of its value as a literary composition. He says it is a production of singular beauty for the time, full of appropriate and graceful imagery. The only notice of the edition of 1582 or 1583 is found in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. No copy bearing that date appears to be known.—Ed.

like Painter, took his materials from Boisteau's work, continued by Belleforest, *Histoires Tragiques, extraites de* [sic] *œuvres Italiennes du Bandel*; and Boisteau again, as the title of his work intimates, copied from Bandello, but he made many variations from his original. Though Shakespeare has most of these variations, in common with Painter, a list of which would only fatigue the reader, (Eschenberg has collected them all) yet we must not conclude, with Dunlop and others, that Shakespeare was unacquainted with the works of Bandello; he might have given the preference to these variations from reasons of art, as Schlegel has shown from this very circumstance. Above all things, we have been lately compelled to give up the English notion of Shakespeare's ignorance. If he was no man of learning, (and he would have mistaken his calling had he sought to become such) yet he lived in a time and at a court where literary cultivation and knowledge of languages were much extended, and a spirit like his, so surrounded, could not remain behind. Even at this day, he would have passed for a well-educated man. He knew Latin currently; was not wholly unacquainted with Greek; and was fully versed in Italian, (at the court of Queen Elizabeth, this was unavoidable); and of his knowledge of French, which was then a rarity, no one can doubt, who has read his Henry V. We do not know how it was with Spanish,¹ but it is probable that he understood this language also. We could bring proof for this conjecture, but we leave this for a more able hand, referring our readers to Ludwig Tieck's anxiously expected work on Shakespeare and the old English theatre. To give only a small proof of Shakespeare's

¹ One of the comedies of Lopez de Vega, *Los Castelvies y Monteses*, was founded upon the same story as Romeo and Juliet; but the Spanish dramatist has evidently borrowed his tale from Bandello, and has changed the names of the characters. The catastrophe, also, is altered. Another play in the same language, by Don Francisco de Roxas, called *Los Vandos de Verona*, is formed on the same relation.—ED.

knowledge of Italian, we may remark that the exquisitely beautiful words in which Romeo first addresses Juliet, at the masked ball, and her reply, contain an allusion to his name, which signifies *a pilgrim*; a fact which many a one does not know who is yet familiar with Italian.¹ Probably Romeo visited the feast of the Capulets in a pilgrim's dress; but even without this aid, Shakespeare might rely upon his hearers understanding the allusion; the *idea* of a pilgrim was not yet so remote, that they should be ignorant of the word for one.

We do not know whether Shakespeare was acquainted with the *novella* of Luigi da Porto; it is probable that he was; but we cannot, with Voss, make our conclusion from the circumstance that in this *novella* the death of certain friends provokes Romeo to attack Tybalt, as in Shakespeare the death of Mercutio gives occasion to this attack.

Of the value of the *novella* of Bandello, in a literary point of view, we say nothing; compared with Shakespeare's treatment of the same subject, it must fail. But however small may be its merits, its style deserves the preference over that of Luigi da Porto, who seems to have had still less feeling of the power of love, which yet the *novella* ought to set forth. The delay of the lovers till they have removed every impedi-

¹ If the play mentioned by Brooke should ever be discovered, we shall perhaps ascertain whether the incident here referred to was Shakespeare's own idea. We cannot doubt that Romeo appeared in a pilgrim's dress. See the first conversation between the lovers in act i., sc. 5. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, in reference to the observation made in the text on the probability that the exact meaning of *romeo* is not known to many well read Italian scholars, that the Quarterly Review, in a recent number, absolutely denied the fact that *romeo* did mean a pilgrim. Mr. Talbot suggests whether the term may not be connected with the Latin comic name of *Dromio*. The same writer adds, "English Etymologies," p. 403, "*Juliet* is properly the diminutive of *Julia*; but it has apparently united itself with another name, *Juliet*, or *Joliette*, the diminutive of *Jolie*, pretty."—ED.

ment, and their resolving, *at last*, to give love its just due, are here intolerable. If the Italians prefer the story of Luigi, this preference is grounded solely upon the greater polish of his language.

Note by the Editor.

Bandello's novel was translated into French by Boisteau, and from the latter into English, in Paynter's "Palace of Pleasure." This last production, and Arthur Brooke's poem, both of which are reprinted in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, must be referred to by those who are desirous of tracing the originals of Shakespeare's drama. There are too many coincidences of incidents and expressions to leave any doubt but that the great poet must have been well acquainted with these works. We need not suppose he took the black-letter volumes with him to the Mermaid or Boar's Head, and, dragging them from his pocket, meditated a tragedy over a quart of sack. Such would be a "mechanical salt-butter" opinion, worthy only the most prosaic critic. There is no improbability in the suggestion that Brooke and Paynter, the Bulwer and Scott of their day, had been read by Shakespeare in Henley Street, and that the stories had made sufficient impression on his retentive memory to enable us to account for the verbal similarities between the poem and the drama. The beautiful structure Shakespeare has created from these insipid novels creates a greater surprise, after their perusal, than would be experienced by a reader who was unacquainted with the poet's sources, and regarded the plot as an invention. Some have dared to say that the catastrophe would have been improved, had he followed the original of Luigi da Porto, instead of the English version of Bandello; but surely the drama is sufficiently adapted in its conduct to the tale on which it is founded. The reader may, however, be interested in the conclusion of the Italian tale, which, *as a novel*, is certainly superior to Paynter or Boisteau. The *Giulietta* of Luigi da Porto ends as follows:—

"So favourable was fortune to this his last purpose, that, on the evening of the day subsequent to the lady's funeral, undiscovered by any, he entered Verona, and there awaited the coming of night; and now, perceiving that all was silent, he betook himself to the monastery of the Minor Friars, where was the vault. The church where these monks then dwelt was in the citadel, though since, for what reason I know not, they have transferred their habitation to the Borgo di S. Zeno, in that place,

which is now called Santo Bernardino; yet it is certain that their former mansion had been inhabited by Saint Francis himself. Near the walls of this church, on the outside, were at that time certain buildings, such as we usually see adjoining to churches, one of which was the ancient sepulchre of the Capelletti family, and in this the fair damsel had been deposited. At this place, about four hours after midnight, Romeo being arrived, and having, as a man of superior strength, by force raised the stone which covered the vault, and, with certain wedges, which he had brought with him for that purpose, having so propped it that it could not be fastened down contrary to his desire, he entered, and reclosed the entrance.

"The unhappy youth, that he might behold his lady, had brought with him a dark lantern, which, after closing the vault, he drew forth, and opened; and there, amidst the bones and fragments of many dead bodies, he beheld the fair Julietta lying as if dead. Whence suddenly breaking out into a flood of tears, he thus began: 'O, eyes, which, while it pleased the heavens, were to my eyes the brightest lights! O, lips, by me a thousand times so sweetly kissed, and from whence were heard the words of wisdom! O, beauteous breast, in which my heart rejoiced to dwell!—where do I now find you, blind, mute, and cold? how, without you, do I see, do I speak, do I live? Alas! my miserable lady, whither hast thou been conducted by that love, whose will it now is that this narrow space shall both destroy and lodge two wretched lovers! Ah, me! an end like this my hope promised not, nor that desire which first inflamed me with love for you! O, unfortunate life, why do I support you?' And so saying, he covered with kisses her eyes, her lips, her breast, bursting every instant into more abundant lamentation: in the midst of which he cried, 'O, ye walls which hang over me, why do you not render my life still more short, by crushing me in your ruin? But since death is at all times in our power, it is dastardly to desire it, and not to snatch it:' and, with these words, he drew forth from his sleeve the vial of deadly poison, which he had there concealed, and thus proceeded: 'I know not what destiny conducts me to die in the midst of my enemies, of those by me slain, and in their sepulchre; but since, O, my soul, thus near my love it delights us to die, here let us die!' and, approaching to his lips the mortal draught, he received it entire into his bosom; when, embracing the beloved maid, and strongly straining her to his breast, he cried—'O, thou beauteous body, the utmost limit of all my desires, if, after the soul is departed, any sentiment yet remains in you, or, if that soul now beholds my cruel fate, let it not be displeasing to you that,

unable to live with you joyfully and openly, at the least I should die with you sadly and secretly;—and holding the body straitly embraced, he awaited death.

“The hour was now arrived when, by the natural heat of the damsel, the cold and powerful effects of the powder should have been overcome, and when she should awake; and accordingly, embraced and violently agitated by Romeo, she awoke in his arms, and starting into life, after a heavy sigh, she cried, ‘Alas! where am I? who is it thus embraces me? by whom am I thus kissed?’ and, believing it was the Friar Lorenzo, she exclaimed, ‘Do you thus, O friar, keep your faith with Romeo? is it thus you safely conduct me to him?’ Romeo, perceiving the lady to be alive, wondered exceedingly, and thinking perhaps on Pygmalion, he said, ‘Do you not know me, O, my sweet lady? See you not that I am your wretched spouse, secretly and alone come from Mantua to perish by you?’ Julietta, seeing herself in the monument, and perceiving that she was in the arms of one who called himself Romeo, was well nigh out of her senses, and pushing him a little from her, and gazing on his face, she instantly knew him, and embracing, gave him a thousand kisses, saying, ‘What folly has excited you, with such imminent danger, to enter here? Was it not sufficient to have understood by my letters how I had contrived, with the help of Friar Lorenzo, to feign death, and that I should shortly have been with you?’ The unhappy youth, then perceiving this fatal mistake, thus began: ‘O, miserable lot! O, wretched Romeo! O, by far the most afflicted of all lovers! On this subject never have I received your letters!’ And he then proceeded to inform her how Pietro had given him intelligence of her pretended death, as if it had been real; whence, believing her dead, he had, in order to accompany her in death, even there, close by her, taken the poison, which, as most subtle, he already felt had sent forth death through all his limbs.

“The unfortunate damsel, hearing this, remained so overpowered with grief, that she could do nothing but tear her lovely locks, and beat and bruise her innocent breast; and at length to Romeo, who already lay supine, kissing him often, and pouring over him a flood of tears, more pale than ashes, and trembling all over, she thus spoke: ‘Must you, then, O, lord of my heart, must you then die in my presence, and through my means! and will the heavens permit that I should survive you, though but for a moment? Wretched me! O, that I could at least transfer my life to you, and die alone!’ To which, with a languid voice, the youth replied: ‘If ever my faith and my love were dear to you, live, O, my best hope! by these I conjure you, that after my death, life should

not be displeasing to you, if for no other reason, at least that you may think on him, who, penetrated with passion, for your sake, and before your dear eyes, now perishes!' To this the damsel answered: 'If for my pretended death you now die, what ought I to do for yours, which is real! It only grieves me that here, in your presence, I have not the means of death, and, inasmuch as I survive you, I detest myself! yet still will I hope, that ere long, as I have been the cause, so shall I be the companion of your death.' And, having with difficulty spoken these words, she fainted, and, again returning to life, busied herself in sad endeavours to gather with her sweet lips the extreme breath of her dearest lover, who now hastily approached his end.

"In this interval, Friar Lorenzo had been informed how and when the damsel had drunk the potion, as also that, upon a supposition of her death, she had been buried; and, knowing that the time was now arrived when the powder should cease to operate, taking with him a trusty companion, about an hour before day he came to the vault; where being arrived, he heard the cries and lamentations of the lady, and, through a crevice in the cover, seeing a light within, he was greatly surprised, and imagined that, by some means or other, the damsel had contrived to convey with her a lamp into the tomb; and that now, having awaked, she wept and lamented, either through fear of the dead bodies by which she was surrounded, or perhaps from the apprehension of being for ever immured in this dismal place; and having, with the assistance of his companion, speedily opened the tomb, he beheld Julietta, who, with hair all dishevelled, and sadly grieving, had raised herself so far as to be seated, and had taken into her lap her dying lover. To her he thus addressed himself: 'Did you then fear, O, my daughter, that I should have left you to die here enclosed?' And she, seeing the friar, and redoubling her lamentations, answered: 'Far from it; my only fear is that you will drag me hence alive! Alas! for the love of God, away, and close the sepulchre, that I may here perish—or rather reach me a knife, that, piercing my breast, I may rid myself of my woes! O, my father, my father! is it thus you have sent me the letter? Are these my hopes of happy marriage? Is it thus you have conducted me to my Romeo? Behold him here, in my bosom, already dead!' And, pointing to him, she recounted all that had passed. The friar, hearing these things, stood as one bereft of sense, and, gazing upon the young man, then ready to pass from this into another life, bitterly weeping, he called to him, saying, 'O, Romeo, what hard hap has torn you from me! Speak to me at least! Cast your eyes a moment upon me! O, Romeo, behold your dearest Julietta, who

beseeches you to look at her. Why, at the least, will you not answer her in whose dear bosom you lie?" At the beloved name of his mistress, Romeo raised a little his languid eyes, weighed down by the near approach of death, and, looking at her, reclosed them; and, immediately after, death thrilling through his whole frame, all convulsed, and heaving a short sigh, he expired.

"The miserable lover being now dead, in the manner I have related, as the day was already approaching, after much lamentation, the friar thus addressed the young damsel: 'And you, Julietta, what do you mean to do?' To which she instantly replied, 'Here enclosed will I die.'—'Say not so, daughter,' said he: 'come forth from hence; for, though I know not well how to dispose of you, the means cannot be wanting of shutting yourself up in some holy monastery, where you may continually offer your supplications to God, as well for yourself as for your deceased husband, if he should need your prayers.'—'Father,' replied the lady, 'one favour alone I entreat of you, which, for the love you bear to the memory of him'—and so saying, she pointed to Romeo—'you will willingly grant me; and that is, that you will never make known our death, that so our bodies may for ever remain united in this sepulchre: and if, by any accident, the manner of our dying should be discovered, by the love already mentioned, I conjure you, that in both our names you would implore our miserable parents that they should make no difficulty of suffering those whom love has consumed in one fire, and conducted to one death, to remain in one and the same tomb.' Then, turning to the prostrate body of Romeo, whose head she had placed on a pillow which had been left with her in the vault, having carefully closed his eyes, and bathing his cold visage with tears, 'Lord of my heart,' said she, 'without you, what should I do with life? and what more remains to be done by me toward you but to follow you in death? Certainly, nothing more! in order that death itself, which alone could possibly have separated you from me, should not now be able to part us!' And having thus spoken, reflecting upon the horror of her destiny, and calling to mind the loss of her dear lover, determined no longer to live, she suppressed her respiration, and for a long space holding in her breath, at length sent it forth with a loud cry, and fell dead upon the dead body."

II. THE STORY OF HAMLET.

The relation given in Saxo's Danish History must be considered as the original and oldest source of Shakespeare's Hamlet, though the poet may have been more immediately indebted to an older tragedy on the same subject, ascribed to Thomas Kyd,¹ and from an English tale which appeared several times in a separate form, under the title, "The Hystorie of Hamblet,"² 4to., which was immediately taken from Belleforest's Tragical Relations, the fifth volume of which contains it, under the title, *Avec qu'elle ruse Amleth qui depuis fuit Roi de Dannemark vengea la mort de son pere Horcendille, occis par Fengou, son frere, et autre occurrence de son histoire.* The English relation which Shakespeare had in his view had probably received many arbitrary additions; for, according to Capell, all the chief circumstances and the most important characters of the tragedy lie in the germ, as it were, in this

¹ This is mere conjecture. If, as is most probable, an older play on the subject of Hamlet existed at the time when Shakespeare wrote his tragedy, we have no evidence whatever that will lead us to believe it was written by Kyd.—Ed.

² The only perfect copy of this work known to exist was published at London in 1608, and has been reprinted by Mr. Collier. The original is preserved in Capell's rich collection, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was procured by him from the collection of the Duke of Newcastle. I have seen a fragment of this rare book, which, as far as one can offer an opinion, without comparing it with the perfect copy, appeared to be earlier than the date above mentioned. Dr. Farmer had only two leaves of the book, not an imperfect copy, as stated by Mr. Collier.—Ed.

story:¹ an assertion which could hardly be made of the original relation of Saxo-Grammaticus.

Yet, even in this last named author, we can distinguish the figures out of which Shakespeare has formed some of his characters. Horatio, Hamlet's fellow-student at Wittenberg, may be recognised in the foster-brother of the Prince; Polonius, in the bold courtier; and Ophelia in the young lady. The last passage may serve for a confirmation of Tieck's well known opinion respecting Hamlet's relation to Ophelia. The companions of Hamlet, in his journey to England, appear in Shakespeare as Rosenkranz and Guildenstern.

We have not succeeded in finding the origin of the interlude which Hamlet causes to be represented in the second scene of the third act, before his uncle. That there is such a source² may be suspected from Hamlet's own words:—"The piece is the representation of a murder which happened in Vienna: Gonzago is the name of the Duke, his consort Battista; the history is extant, and is written in choice Italian." This, to be sure, may be merely a pretence, which Shakespeare makes Hamlet use, to conceal the allusion to his uncle; but the mode of Gonzago's death, by poison dropped into his ear during sleep, does not occur in Saxo, and our great dramatist may certainly have taken this circumstance from an Italian story now lost to us. Shakespeare knew that Battista is a man's name, as is proved by the list of the *Dramatis Per-*

¹ I fear that Capell's words have been misinterpreted; for, with a trifling exception, the tale of Saxo-Grammaticus furnishes the same particulars as the novel of Belleforest.—ED.

² In a play called "A Warning for fair Women," supposed, by Mr. Collier, to have been written before 1590, it is stated that a woman who had murdered her husband witnessed a tragedy acted at Lynn, in Norfolk, which expressed a similar crime so perfectly, she was conscience-stricken, and confessed the transaction she had been guilty of. Heywood, in his "Apology for Actors," 1612, relates the affair more circumstantially. Perhaps some of our Norfolk antiquaries will be able to tell us whether it has any foundation in truth.—ED.

sonæ of the "Taming of the Shrew;" but that it may be a woman's name, also, seems not to have been noticed by those English critics, who thence deduce Shakespeare's ignorance of the Italian language.

The Hamlet of Shakespeare has been compared with the Orestes of Æschylus and Sophocles, in order to develop the difference between the modern and ancient world. The resemblance rests in the similar external action; as in the Greek play, the mother is married to the murderer of the father, whom the son avenges upon both. In Hamlet, as in Orestes, is found the incident of madness, with the difference that Orestes is tormented by the furies for a deed pitilessly done from the impulse of feeling; whilst Hamlet, who can never actually approach the deed, owing to the sense of justice which keeps him weighing its propriety, is driven to madness by his irresolution. Hamlet is the reverse of Orestes; consideration comes to him *before* the deed, to Orestes *after*: the furies follow him for having acted too tardily; Orestes, for having acted too hastily. In Hamlet, feeling punishes consideration, because it had delayed the execution which feeling demanded; in Orestes, consideration punishes feeling, because feeling had hastened the deed which he disapproved. It is remarkable that in some representations of the story of Orestes and Clytemnestra, we meet with such a net as Hamlet makes use of to destroy the partisans of his uncle. Clytemnestra's words, in Æschylus—

" I did it, and will not deny my deed,
So that no flight and no defence remained :
First round his limbs I threw an endless coil,
Garment of misery, like a fisher's net ;
Twice then I struck him ; twice he groan'd and fell,
His limbs all palsied ; as he lay, I struck
The third and fatal blow "—

Do not correspond with those of Homer's Agamemnon, *Odyssey*, xi., v. 417-420—

"But most of all thy heart would there have grieved,
Where by the goblets and the loaded board
We lay, and all the pavement swam in blood."

If both relations are taken together, Clytemnestra revenged the sacrifice of Iphigenia by the same stratagem as Hamlet employed in avenging the death of his father. The fishing-net appears here specially as a symbol of deceit.

The *Amleth* of Saxo-Grammaticus merely pretends madness,¹ to gain time for carrying out his finely-woven stratagem; but of his eventual success he is certain. The Hamlet of Shakespeare suffers from the madness which he counterfeits, but he has no plan, and therefore no hope of success; and this sense of inactivity, in the face of every challenge to action, drives him to actual insanity. Here, also, Shakespeare has deserted the fiction, and invented something new, the idea of the play being quite different from that of the popular story. The results, also, are different; for Amleth perfects his stratagem, and retires triumphantly from the contest; but Hamlet falls a victim to his inactivity at the moment when a higher power is acting through him. The germ of this alteration lays only so far in the story, that Amleth had sufficient coolness to defer his revenge; and it is Hamlet's want of passion which gives his reflection too great preponderance over the impulses of nature.

Belleforest has already remarked the resemblance between Amleth and Brutus; and he mentions also a parallel² between Amleth and David, because the latter also counterfeited madness. This latter instance is a mere accidental coincidence

¹ "Falsitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita astutiam veriloquio permiscebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deesset, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." M. Simrock appears to underrate the method of Hamlet's madness.—ED.

² He scarcely goes so far as to institute any parallelism between the characters. David is merely cursorily introduced, as a sort of illustrative remark on the counterfeited madness of Amleth.—ED.

in a single circumstance, which does not warrant us in assuming an internal or external connexion. As little does Tristan belong to this part of our subject, though he profited by his assumed madness to take vengeance on his enemies. On the contrary, Amleth and Brutus are very nearly connected. We shall best give the proof for this in the words of Niebuhr:—

“The King sent two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, to Delphi, to consult the oracle; sending with them, as a companion and subject of derision, L. Junius, who, for his assumed stupidity, was called Brutus. This was a son of a sister of the King, a child when he caused his elder brother, with many others, to be put to death on a false accusation, that he might possess himself of his riches. As Junius grew up, he saved his life by the continuous stratagem of representing himself as idiotic; and prepared for his revenge by the unshaken patience with which he permitted himself to be mocked as a fool. Thus he dedicated to the god what seemed to be the offering of a fool, a staff of cornel wood; but which, as an image of his secret, was filled with gold. The princes questioned the Pythian God for themselves also. ‘He of you will rule at Rome,’ answered the Pythoness, ‘who first kisses his mother.’ The sons of Tarquin decided this between them by lot; Brutus ran like an idiot down the mountain, so that he fell down and pressed with his lips the earth, in the middle point of which lay the temple of Apollo, as its original sanctuary.”

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Tarquinius had also put to death the father of Brutus and his eldest son, Brutus’s brother, because this youth, who showed a great mind, would not have left his father’s death unavenged. Whichever account we follow, vengeance for blood determined Brutus, like Amleth, to pretend insanity; both have suffered the same wrong, have the same purpose, and make use of the same means. That Amleth has claims upon the throne, which are wanting in Brutus, is unimportant to the argument; for Amleth is impelled far more by the desire and duty of revenge than by the love of rule. In addition to

this, however, Brutus also takes the sceptre from the aggressive party, and bears it himself, but in another right. The original narrative must be freed from the alterations which it underwent, when it became fixed as a portion of history. The story of Amleth has been taken into the Danish, that of Brutus into the Roman history. This could not happen without more or less changing their form. If we are not mistaken, both stories were wholly alike before they were woven into history; but the connexion with the history of two different countries necessarily occasioned an adaptation to different relations; but that both forms of the story were founded upon one ancient popular story, is rendered probable, amongst other things, by the cornel staff filled with gold,¹ which Brutus offers to the oracle as a symbol of his own mind and being. Such symbols occur frequently in fictions and popular stories; and we have already noticed in *Romeo and Juliet* the tendency of the unconscious popular poetry to such emblematical representations. It is startling to find this gold-filled staff again in *Amleth*; though here its symbolical signification is less clearly exhibited. *Amleth* has had the money which he received as expiation for the murder of his companions melted and poured into hollow sticks; and when he is asked, at his return, where his companions have stayed, he shows the hollow sticks which he has brought back with them. Here, also, the hollow staff stands in nearer relation to the dire vengeance which forms the turning point of the story; but its emblematic meaning thereby loses in clearness, because it is no longer employed to signify before the god the essence of the hero. *Amleth's* journey to England, and that of Brutus to Delphi, had probably a common foundation in the original story, before the latter was com-

¹ English readers will, I fear, consider portions of this discussion irrelevant to Shakespearian criticism. The primary sources of this incident may illustrate Saxo-Grammaticus, but the wildest commentator would not introduce them into an essay on Shakespeare's play.—ED.

pelled to accommodate itself to history; but yet we are not obliged to assume an actual tradition, to account for the resemblance between the two stories, although this explanation might appear the most natural. Similar causes produce similar effects; and in the primitive time when fiction arose, the most distant nations have much in common. Thus vengeance for blood is common to the traditions of all early nations, and this compels the injured to conceal his natural spirit, that he may not fall a sacrifice to the crime which duty and feeling call upon him to avenge. This counterfeiting a senseless character can in no place be more clearly expressed than by the image of a wooden staff, whose interior conceals gold; and thus we must not be surprised if the same thought form for itself a similar image, however remote may be the time and place.

The suspicion might be raised that Saxo-Grammaticus, who was not only acquainted with Livy, but imitated him, had borrowed the gold-filled staff, and perhaps also the madness of Amleth, from his model, and thus have himself first introduced a portion of the resemblance. But this supposition is repelled by the consistency of all the features of his story which stand in connexion with Amleth's fictitious madness. The influence which Livy had upon his account is clearly to be traced, but it shows itself only in the *form* of the narrative. In the *substance* of it, he suffers the stream of tradition to flow unadulterated. The story of the staff filled with gold is not so presented as to render it probable that he borrowed from Livy. We meet with many traits in Saxo's story which occur again in other popular tales. Thus a change in the Urias letters, as here in the Rune tablets, is so frequent in well known German and Italian tales, that it is needless to make any more particular reference to it. Many of the proofs which Amleth gives of his wisdom are in fact only evidence of acuteness of the senses—more a characteristic of an animal than a man. But it is in accordance with

the opinion of old time, when the story sets forth wisdom as an acuteness of the senses; as, indeed, our German word for mental acuteness has its origin in this physical conception. Thus the seven wise masters, to convince themselves whether their pupil, Diocletianus, had learned any thing in his seven years' instruction, lay an ivy leaf under each foot of his bed;¹ and when he wakes, he looks with astonishment at the coverlet, and cries—"Either the roof of the chamber has sunk during the night, or the earth has risen." Of this kind are the proofs of wisdom which Hamlet gives to the King of England, finding fault with his food for a circumstance which, on examination, is found to be the truth. In the story of the two connoisseurs in wine, to this day a popular jest, one maintains that the wine tastes of iron; the other, of leather: on examination, a key is found at the bottom of the vessel, tied to a leathern thong. When Amleth finally suspects the purity of the King's descent, and notes also servile manners in the queen (manners betraying a menial

¹ This story is very amusingly told in the early English metrical version of the Seven Wise Masters:—

"The child yede to bedde anight,
And ros arliche amorewen aflight.
Hise maistres him bifore stode,
Open hefd, withouten hode.
The child lokede here and tar,
Up and doun, and everiwhar.
Hise maistres askede what him was.
'Parfai!' he seide, 'a ferli cas!
Other ich am of wine dronke,
Other the firmament is i-sonke,
Other wexen is the grounde
The thickness of four leves rounde;
So muche to-night heyer I lai,
Certes, thanne yisterdai.' "

I quote from Weber's edition, *Met. Rom.*, iii., 10, 11. Mr. Wright has edited an early version for the Percy Society, accompanied with an interesting introduction on the sources of the tales.—ED.

origin) popular story again offers many analogies. For example, in the German Popular Stories, (Grimm, ii., 127) the supposititious princesses are discovered by their menial discourse (cf. iii., 220). In an old Walloon story, (*Alt: Wälder*, i., 69) the shape of an amputated finger betrays the coarse labour of the waiting-maid, who has been substituted for a King's daughter; and in the *Volsunga Saga*, ch. 21, when Queen Hiordys, Sigurd's mother, has changed clothes with her waiting-maid, King Alf asks them the question, "How do you women know when day is breaking, and night passing away, when there is no star in the sky?" The serving-maid answered, "In my youth, I was wont to drink mead in the early morning, and since I ran away from my home, we wake early for that cause, and that is my token." The King smiles, and says, "That is an evil custom for a King's daughter." When the same question was addressed to Hiordys, she replied—"My father gave me a little gold ring, with the property of growing cold on my finger in the early morning; and that is my token at night." Alf knows now how matters stand, and marries Hiordys.

In the *Cento Novelle antiche*, ed. Manni, a sage recognises that a horse has been suckled with asses' milk; that a jewel has a worm in it; and that the King is the son of a baker: an examination of the first two points shows the justice of the conjecture; and at last the mother of the King confesses the truth of the last assertion. Though the further course of the story shows that the sage discovered all this more by observation and reasoning than by corporeal perception, still there remains a striking resemblance to Amleth's proofs of wisdom. The story, also, of the King and his son, in the Arabian Nights, (xv., 28, 3rd night of the Vizier) coincides with this in all its features. In the second part of the story of Amleth, the action is reversed, and Amleth himself becomes the object of vengeance. We confine ourselves here to the part which may serve for a comparison with Shake-

speare. The writer has kept as closely as possible to the original,¹ not even omitting the repetitions in the speech of Hamlet, by which, perhaps, Saxo meant to express the youth's irrepressible desire of vengeance, and that long stifled rage which, when once allowed to break out, can no longer govern itself. It may not be uninteresting to remark how the ancient *naïve* tale looks under the treatment of a writer of the middle ages, who prided himself no little on his acquired classical cultivation and learning. It is known that Göthe had formed the purpose of treating the story of Amleth freely from Saxo-Grammaticus; and certainly the tale is capable and deserving of a treatment differing from that which it could receive from Shakespeare, whose higher purposes justified him in taking that part only which he could make subservient to them.²

¹ M. Simrock here refers to the collection of Echtermeyer, who has translated the story of Saxo-Grammaticus into German. *Quellen des Shakspeare*, 1831, i., 67.—ED.

² Mr. Collier, (*Hist. Dram. Poet.*, iii., 210) notices some slight similarities between Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy" and Shakespeare's tragedy of Hamlet; but I do not know how far this circumstance may have led to the random conjecture that Kyd was the author of the "old Hamlet," always supposing there was such a play; for Mr. Knight thinks it likely Shakespeare was the only writer who dramatised the tale. In Kyd's play, says Mr. Collier, "the old father is always meditating the punishment of the guilty, and always postponing the execution of his project; so that, in this respect, his character in some degree resembles that of Hamlet: the insertion of a play within a play gives the whole tragedy a still greater appearance of similarity to that of Shakespeare." Perhaps a discovery will some day be made which may tend to elucidate this subject.—ED.

III. MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi ovvero cento novelle, &c.*, appeared first in 1565 at Montereale, in Sicily, 2 parts, 8vo., and in a more complete form in 1566, at Venice, in one volume, 4to.¹ In this edition, as well as in that which appeared at Venice in 1593, in two quarto volumes, the Shakesperian tale is the fifth of the eighth decade which treats of Ingratitude. Giraldi himself has brought the substance of it upon the stage, under the name *Epitia*; and the sources of all his dramatic works, consisting of six tragedies, may be found in his *Hecatommithi*. It is uncertain whether Shakespeare had seen the story of Cinthio; but we have no grounds for denying it, unless we recur to the opinion that he was ignorant of the Italian language. It is, however, certain that, if he was not acquainted with Italian, the substance of the tale was accessible to him through the twofold labours of Whetstone. This author published, in 1582, a collection of stories under the title of *Heptameron*, in which he included a translation of this story of Cinthio; but he had also treated the same matter dramatically four years earlier. This piece, noticed in the "Six old plays on which Shakespeare founded,"²

¹ And again at Venice, 2 parts, 4to., 1584. The first edition is very rare; there is a copy in the Bodleian Library. Steevens has reprinted the play of *Promos and Cassandra*, founded by Whetstone on Cinthio's novel, and Mr. Collier has judiciously included the prose tale from the *Heptameron*, 1582, in his *Shakespeare's Library*, vol. ii. Both these sources being thus so readily accessible, I have not thought it requisite to add much annotation to this chapter.—ED.

² Published by J. Nichols, at the suggestion of Steevens, in 1779. The play of "*Promos and Cassandra*" should be consulted by the reader, as

&c., bears the title, "The right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra, divided into commical discourses. In the fyrste parte is showne the unsufferable abuse of a lewde Magistrate, the vertuous behaviours of a chaste ladye, the uncontrawled leawdenes of a favoured curtisan, and the undeserved estimation of a pernicious parasyte. In the second parte is discoursed the perfect magnanimitye of a noble Kinge, in checking vice and favouringe vertue, wherein is showne the ruyne and overthrowe of dishonest practises, and the advauncement of upright dealing."

Slight as the value of this piece may be, we find in it the deviation from Cinthio's novel which Shakespeare adopted—that Vieo, whom Whetstone makes Andrugio, and Shakespeare Claudio, is not in reality put to death, though the governor has given his order for it. In other respects, however, Whetstone does not differ essentially from Cinthio; so that the many excellent alterations which are met with in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure" are solely due to the poet's invention. Amongst these we include the deciding circumstance that the Duke of Vienna (in the story, the Emperor Maximilian) is always present, disguised as a monk, and leads the whole action, undiscovered, to a happy termination. The introduction of the betrothed of Angelo, who keeps the promise given by Isabella in her place, and thenceforward plays the part of Epitia in the tale, while Isabella preserves her chastity, and is married to the Duke, is another

in all probability the *immediate* source of Shakespeare's play. It is dedicated to Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, in an address which deserves a careful perusal. Speaking of plays, he says—"The Englishman, in this quality, is most vain, indiscreet, and out of order: he first grounds his work on impossibilities, then in three hours runs he through the world, marries, gets children, makes children men, men to conquer kingdoms, murder monsters, and bringeth gods from heaven, and fetcheth devils from hell." He proceeds to say that all decorum is sacrificed to effect, and observes it was usual to bring clowns on the stage as companions for kings.—ED.

equally great improvement of Shakespeare's. Remarkable is the art with which he has so contrived to weave in these alterations, that at the same time the original course of the novel is kept in the consciousness of Angelo; for he believes to the end that he has broken the law with Isabella, and caused her brother to be put to death, as the novel relates it. Hence Isabella also makes the same complaint against him, before the Duke, on his entrance, as Epitia makes against Juriste, in the story. One might conclude, from this circumstance being retained with the alteration, that Shakespeare had been acquainted with the tale of Cinthio,¹ were it not that the story of Whetstone, in the *Heptameron*, was precisely similar in its form.

The alteration of Whetstone, according to which the life of the condemned is preserved, though adopted by Shakespeare from him, is, in accordance with Shakespeare's purpose, turned to a different end. In Whetstone, Promos (Angelo) has ordered the gaoler to bring to Cassandra (Isabella, Epitia) the head of her brother. The gaoler, however, out of compassion for Andrugio, brought her the disfigured head of a malefactor who had been executed shortly before, and which Cassandra cannot distinguish from that of her brother. In Shakespeare, on the contrary, it is the governor who has ordered the execution who is deceived by the substituted head; and this departure from one tradition is fully in accordance with others. The circumstance is continually occurring in popular stories that kind-hearted servants, commissioned to perform cruel acts, have contrived to deceive their masters with false tokens of the fulfilment of their commands. Equally popular, and in accordance with the stream of fiction, is the substitution, due to our poet alone, of Mariana for Isabella. Thus, to quote the best known example, in *Tristan*, Brangene is laid by the side of Marke, instead of Isolde. A

¹ I cannot understand this deduction. The incident is also found in Whetstone's play.—ED.

similar incident occurs in the poem of the two merchants, *Alt: Wälder.*, i., 34) and in a modern Greek ballad (*ibid.*, ii., 181). We choose the last two examples among innumerable others, because they will both be spoken of afterwards in "Cymbeline." Shakespeare, however, must¹ have been led to this idea by the substitution of Giletta di Narbonne, instead of the lady's daughter with whom Beltram was in love, told by Boccaccio in the story which was the origin of "All's Well that ends Well." Here the circumstances are almost identical, for the substituted lady is not, as in the former examples, a maid, but the lawful wife of the object of the deceit: that Marianna is only Angelo's *betrothed* makes no essential difference.

By these alterations, in themselves so excellent, Shakespeare has given a proof how dear popular fiction was to him, and what advantages he could derive from it. And here it must not be forgotten that the world of fable and tale was in Shakespeare's time adopted by the mass of the people: it was their peculiar property; and therefore there was nothing which they more loved to see in the theatre than this reflection of its being, even though it had been cast from a mirror less artfully polished than Shakespeare's. And this may explain, also, why Shakespeare borrowed so much from popular fable, that we have been able to fill three volumes with stories that he has used for the foundations of his plays. With respect to the present story of Cinthio, however, we meet with the remarkable circumstance, that it has in itself little of the character of popular fiction, and that Shakespeare has drawn it within the compass of this kind of literature. Meanwhile, however, a few points of comparison offer themselves.

Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, i., 153, and after him Dunlop, ii., 429, have quoted a number of historical

¹ Not necessarily. The poet had a barbarous story to dramatise, and used every effort to purify it. This will account most naturally and quite sufficiently for all his variations from the original.—ED.

incidents of a similar kind, of which the most important are the following.¹ Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, compelled one of his nobles to marry a young lady for a similar offence, and ordered him to be executed immediately after. (*Lipsii monita et exempla politica*, Antwerp, 1613, 4to., cap. 8.) This is the subject of a French tragedy by Antoine Marechal, *Le jugement équitable de Charles le Hardi*, 4to., 1646. Olivier le Dain, the barber and favourite of Louis the Eleventh, committed a similar crime, and expiated it with his life. Belleforest gives a story as of his own invention, which looks, however, too like that of Cinthio, to allow us to believe his assertion unconditionally. In this tale, a general seduces the wife of a soldier, under a promise to save the forfeited life of her husband, whom he shows her immediately after, through a window of the chamber, hanging on the gallows. His commander obliges him to marry the widow, and then condemns him to death. The same barbarity is attributed to the infamous Colonel Kirk, how justly is doubtful. In Goulart's *Thrésor d'histoires admirables*, &c., this circumstance is twice varied, pp. 300, 304. In Cooke's "Vindication of the Professors and Profession of the Law," 4to., 1640, p. 61, the whole story of Cinthio is related of Don Garcias, the Governor of Milan during the war between Charles V. and Francis I.; but here the dishonoured woman is the wife of the captive, and the beheading of the seducer actually takes place after the marriage with the widow. To these examples we have to add the following.

In the stories of Masuccio Salernitano it is related (iv., 7, p. 47) that the King of Sicily, the son of Don Juan of Arragon, was once staying at Vagliendoli, at the house of

¹ Omitting, however, somewhat unaccountably, the curious tale in Lupton's *Siquila*, 1580, of a woman who permits herself to be seduced by a judge, to save the life of her husband. The incident is often repeated; and a similar atrocity is asserted to have been actually committed within the last century.—ED.

a nobleman of rank, who received and entertained him in the most festive manner. This nobleman had two beautiful daughters, and two of the King's first courtiers became enamoured of them during his stay in the house. By means of a servant girl whom they bribed, they were admitted at night into the young ladies' chamber, where they gained their wishes without awaking them. Soon, however, they were convinced of the violence which had been committed, and made their complaint to the King, their guest, against the robbers of their honour, who had meanwhile fled. He promises them satisfaction, but conceals his anger, and obliges the two courtiers to take in marriage the two injured women, giving the latter a rich dowry. When this has been done, the King goes solemnly into the judgment hall with the courtiers, and commands them to be beheaded, which is done, in spite of the remonstrances of the newly-married ladies. The King now declares them heiresses of the whole inheritance of their husbands, and marries them on the spot, without respect to the year of mourning, to two of the highest nobles of the city.

Still more terrible was the decision of the Emperor Otto, in Lombardy, (Grimm's German Stories, ii., 169) which perhaps is the foundation of Cinthio's story. A woman came to the Emperor, and made her complaint against a man who had done her violence. The King said, "I will right thee, when I return."—"My lord," said the woman, "thou wilt forget it." The King pointed to a church, and said, "This shall be my record." When the King, after a time, returned to Lamparten (Lombardy), his way led him by the church which he had shown the woman; and, ordering her to be called, he bade her make her complaint. She said, "My lord, he is now my lawful husband, and I have dear children by him." But the Emperor swore an oath, and said, "He shall taste my axe:" and he ordered that the man should be

capitally punished, according to the law. Thus he did the woman justice against her will.

In Cinthio's story, Maximilian has a similar barbarity in design, but Epitia persuades him to a better purpose. The pardon of the offender, it is true, is given, not for his own sake, but for that of his wife; but still there is always a guilt unattoned; and we are not pleased that the offender should have found such an intercessor. Shakespeare has avoided this difficulty by the smaller culpability of Angelo, and by the circumstance that neither of the crimes, the dishonour of Isabella, and the execution of her brother, against his promise, are actually committed.

IV. THE MOOR OF VENICE.

In the story just treated of, the commentators on Shakespeare considered it certain he was not acquainted with the original, because there were translations in English from which he might have derived his materials: but in the present instance, as no translation of the story can be produced so old as Shakespeare's time, recourse is had to the supposition that such a translation may have been extant, and have been since lost. Probably, it is said, there was only one edition, that this was borrowed from the French translation of the story of Cinthio made by Gabriel Chapuys, which appeared in Paris in 1584. And all these conjectures are only for the sake of persisting more conveniently in the supposition that Shakespeare was wholly ignorant of languages;¹ as if it had not been a mere recreation for such a genius to acquire such languages as Italian and French.

In the edition already cited of the stories of Cinthio, the one quoted is the seventh of the third decade. The name of Othello does not occur in it, any more than that of Iago; but, according to Steevens, they may both be found in a story in "God's revenge against Adultery," which may have been known to Shakespeare.² As this relation, like the play,

¹ M. Simrock here places the opinions of the commentators in somewhat too positive a light. It is quite consonant with what we know to have been Shakespeare's usage in other instances, to regard the *probability* of his having used the translations, and the *possibility* of his having employed the originals. It is not concluded that Shakespeare could not read Italian, merely because in most instances he read English versions; but this is the fallacy in many arguments on the subject.—ED.

² The "Revenge against Adultery" was first added, I believe, to the sixth edition of Reynolds' "Triumphs of God's Revenge against Murder,"

treats of jealousy, the borrowing of the names, which are common ones, is probable enough.

It is probable that the relation of Cinthio was founded on an historical fact, as on a popular story. According to an assertion of the late Wilhelm Waiblinger, in the *Taschenbuch Penelope* for 1831, there is an Italian ballad on this subject: we have looked for this in vain in Wolff's *Egeria*. At all events, the cast of the story renders it not improbable that it is derived from a popular romance, such as itinerant minstrels sing before painted tables. This story is certainly among the best of Cinthio's, whose merits as a narrator we cannot rate very highly. The popular story of Othello, if such a one must be supposed to exist, would belong, from its subject, to the cycle of which we shall have to treat more at length in considering the tale of Cymbeline.

fol., Lond., 1679, edited by S. Pordage, who dedicates the work to the Earl of Shaftesbury. I do not quite understand whether Reynolds was also the author of the additional stories; for, although written in the same style, his name does not appear on the second title-page, nor does Pordage absolutely affirm that they were written by him, though he may wish to imply as much. In the tale to which Steevens alludes, which is the eighth history of the additional book, and called "an Italian history," Jocelina, Countess of Chiety, marries Don Iago, who turns out false, and is beheaded by the Countess. She afterwards marries Othello, "an old German soldier," who discovers her infidelity, and "leaves her in discontent." Beyond the identity of these names, I can trace no similarity between this story and the play.—ED.

V. THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

Eschenburg commences his dissertation upon this piece with a consideration of the three unities, and the neglect of the unity of action in the pieces of Shakespeare; a neglect, says he, which is rather a merit than a defect, inasmuch as he knew how to weave in the episode with the main story, that the latter suffers nothing by the introduction of the other, but rather seems to be first set in its full light by it. This seems, also, he proceeds to say, to be the case in this piece. Both actions, the cruelty of the Jew and the love of Bassanio, have been most happily united in one event; and this merit is so much the greater, as in all probability he has made use of two stories, and has united their very different contents in one piece.

This part of Eschenburg's treatise must have been written before he gave the story here quoted of Giovanni Fiorentino,¹ for the real source of Shakespeare's drama, as the English critics had previously done; for here he seems to suppose that Shakespeare had been the first to combine the story of Bassanio's love with that of the merchant brought to judgment, when this combination finds a place in *Il Pecorone*, and, as we shall see, in a still older production. Shakespeare kept most closely to the already existing story, and only changed the test by which Gianetto must gain the lady of Belmonte, with another, more apt for the purpose, which he

¹ The Adventures of Gianetto are reprinted, with an English translation, in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, vol. ii. An abridged translation of it is given by Dr. Johnson, and is found in the variorum editions of Shakespeare.—ED.

also borrowed from a story, the second of those here quoted. We say this, not to lessen the merit of the poet, but to show wherein it consists; in the treatment, not the invention of the material, which, as we have seen, had been put into his hands. Shakespeare has frequently shown his genius in the combination of different materials; we are far from doubting it: but Eschenburg's dissertation would have been more appropriately prefixed to another of his pieces—"King Lear," for example, or "The Taming of the Shrew"—than to the "Merchant of Venice."

The *Pecorone* of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino was written in 1378: the first edition was printed at Milan in 1558.¹ Our story is the first of the fourth day. Giovanni again probably borrowed from the well-known *Gesta Romanorum*, from the English version of which the second quoted novel, "The Three Caskets," is borrowed. Eschenburg has taken the narrative belonging to this from a German translation, printed in 1538. In this story, a knight at the court of the Emperor Lucius in Rome has fallen in love with his daughter: he twice buys for a thousand marks the privilege of passing a night with her, but each time falls asleep without having obtained his desire. The third time, he has to borrow the money from a merchant, pledging *all* his flesh for the repayment, and giving him at the same time a bond written in his blood. But this time a wise philosopher (Virgilius, in the English translation) warns him, and teaches him to overcome the enchantment which had held him bound in sleep in the two first nights. The rest of the story agrees with that of Giovanni, to whom belongs little more than the invention that a *friend* of the needy man borrows the money for him, under that terrible condition, by which the narrative certainly gains much interest. It is thus taken into the list of stories of friendship, to which it did not originally belong; and it

¹ This is not quite correct. A copy dated 1554 is in the Douce Collection. It is reprinted in the *Novelliero Italiano*, 1754.—Ed.

closely approaches to the Greek form of the story, as Schiller has treated it in *Die Bürgschaft* (The Suretyship). Shakespeare has laid great stress upon this circumstance, and his play is a true code of friendship in all its degrees.

From the story of the English *Gesta Romanorum* appears to have arisen a play which was established on the English boards before Shakespeare's time. Stephen Gosson mentions it in his "School of Abuse," under the title of "The Jew," which, he says, was played at the Bull Theatre, and "represented the greediness of worldly chusers, and the bloody minds of usurers." Gosson praises this piece, and Steevens conjectures that Shakespeare has remodelled it, or taken it as the groundwork of his own play.¹ On the other hand, from the story of Giovanni Fiorentino has arisen the old ballad of Gernutus, the Jew of Venice, which Dr. Percy has preserved in his *Relics of Ancient English Poetry*, and Eschenburg has translated; the ballad itself at least claims an Italian origin.² This ballad, however, confines itself to the single circumstance of pledging a pound of flesh, and omits every thing relating to the love of the friend for whom the money has been borrowed. The age of this ballad cannot be distinctly ascertained; it is concluded that Shakespeare was acquainted with it, from the incident of the whetting of the knife. This incident, however, occurs in "Blue Beard" and "Poor Henry," and may be considered as an element of popular fiction.

¹ The coincidence between the subject of the play of "The Jew," as mentioned by Gosson, and Shakespeare's play, is so remarkable, that I am inclined to believe the story was the same. I do not think it has been remarked, *in connexion with the subject*, that Shakespeare's play was also called the *Jew of Venice*. This fact appears from the entry made by Roberts on the Stationers' Register for 1598.—ED.

² The ballad itself says, "as Italian writers tell;" but balladists were not always the promulgators of truth, and no ballads of the time are good evidence in such matters.—ED.

In Lessing's second letter to Eschenburg, the former claims the discovery that Shakespeare has borrowed from Giovanni Fiorentino, and the latter, again, from the *Gesta Romanorum*. Lessing, unquestionably, made both discoveries independently, but in the first the English critics had anticipated him. Our predecessor in the collection of the sources of Shakespeare, Mrs. Arabella Lennox, Fielding's unkind sister, had, it is true, overlooked them in her "Shakespeare Illustrated, or the novels on which the plays of Shakespeare are founded," 3 vols., London, 1754; but as early as 1755¹ a little work appeared in London, which undertook to give the sources of the "Merchant of Venice," and contains a translation of the story of Giovanni, and the three tales afterwards quoted from Boccaccio. The English commentators on the poet, Farmer and Tyrwhitt, made the second discovery later than Lessing, but independently of him. With respect to the first, they hesitate not to remark here, also, that a translation of the story of Giovanni was extant in Shakespeare's times, and must have been since lost; an opinion to which, we are sorry to say, Eschenburg subscribes.² They have not succeeded, however, in showing the existence of such a translation. Besides the ballad already mentioned, no representation of this story has been found in the English language, but what occurs in the old book bearing the title, "The Orator: handling a hundred several discourses in form of declamations: some of the arguments being drawn from Titus Livius and other ancient writers. Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by L. P." London, printed by Adam Islip, 1596.³ The real name of the com-

¹ Entitled, "The novel from which the play of the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakespear, is taken," 8vo.—ED.

² M. Simrock would now have to add the name of Mr. Collier to his grievances.—ED.

³ The ninety-fifth declamation "of a Jew who would for his debt have a pound of the flesh of a Christian" has been reprinted by Mr. Collier,

poser, who called himself Lazarus Pyot, was, according to Ritson, Anthony Munday. This book might have been known to Shakespeare, for his play did not appear till two years later, 1598. It contains only a very short account of the course of the story, and two speeches, wherein first the Jew and then the merchant plead their right before the second judge: for the purpose of this book was only to show examples of practical eloquence, and to explain how the *pro* and *con* is to be found in every case of dispute. It does not appear that Shakespeare has made any use of either of these speeches.

If we now ascend to the sources from which the *Gesta Romanorum* derived the above-mentioned story, we must separate two narratives which are even here connected. These are: first, the lawsuit about the promised pound of flesh and its decision; secondly, the relation of the Knight to the Emperor's daughter, or, in Giovanni, the relation of Gianetto to the lady of Belmonte. Both are independent, and originally unconnected, stories.

I. With regard to the lawsuit for the flesh, the English translator of Gregorio Leti's Life of Pope Sextus V. (Ellis Farnworth, 1754) has offered a conjecture that an historical event related by Leti may be the foundation of our story.¹ The Italian author gives a precisely similar occurrence, which is said to have happened on the taking of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, by Drake, (which would carry the date to 1585) from an edition said to be printed in 1598; but Mr. Collier tells me this was a mere printer's oversight for 1596. Skottowe has produced passages to show that this work may have suggested several hints for the conduct of Shylock before the court; but the similarities, though very curious, can scarcely be considered as conclusive. Our author has evidently overlooked them.—ED.

¹ See the editor's note, p. 293. The similarity occasioned much controversy in the periodicals of the time; and in the "Universal Magazine" for December, 1754, is a letter which gives the conflicting opinions of several writers on the subject.—ED.

between the merchant Paul Secchi and the Jew Sampson Ceneda: but here the parties are transposed, and it is the Jew who wagers a pound of his flesh against a thousand crowns if the news of this capture should prove true. But Percy has remarked that the older play already quoted, "The Jew," had been brought on the stage before 1579; consequently, the later incident in Rome could have had no influence upon the already developed fiction. This is the more certain, as we know two much older representations of it in the *Pecorone* and the English *Gesta Romanorum*. If, then, Leti is to be believed, of which Douce has expressed considerable doubts, those two merchants took their hint from the story, and designedly changed the form of the wager.

According to Malone's account, there is found, in a Persian MS. which was in the possession of Thomas Munro, a similar account of a Jew and a Mussulman. Unfortunately, this MS. is defective at the beginning and end; so that its age, which, however, could not be very great, cannot be determined with certainty. The following is an abridged analysis of the story.

In a city in Syria lived a poor Mussulman near a rich Jew. The former begged of his neighbour the loan of one hundred dinars, on condition of a share in the gain. The Mussulman had a beautiful wife, whom the Jew loved; and he consented to the request, because he considered this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his wishes. The Mussulman, however, is required to give him a bond, that he will repay the money within six months, and that if he is only a day over this term, the Jew shall cut a pound of flesh from what part of his body he pleases. The Mussulman sets out on his journey with the borrowed money, and is so successful in his transactions, that, before the expiration of the term fixed upon, he is able to send back the money to the Jew by a trusty messenger. This money, however, falls into the hands of his needy family, who

use it for their subsistence. So, when the Mussulman returns from his journey, the Jew demands the hundred pieces of gold *and* the pound of flesh. The first judge before whom they come decides for the Jew: when the Mussulman objects to this decision, they go before a second, and afterwards a third, which last was the Cadi of Emessa. When the Cadi had heard the complaint, he ordered a sharp knife to be brought. The Mussulman is frightened; but the Cadi now turns to the Jew, and orders him to cut out neither more nor less than a pound of flesh, and that, if he does otherwise, he must pay for it with his life.

This story, a similar one in Gladwin's Persian Moonshee, 13, and a third, also Oriental, in "The British Magazine" for 1800, p. 159, establishes with the English critics (Douce and Dunlop, for example) the opinion that our story must be of Oriental origin. But this conclusion is too hasty; for the East has in many forms received reflex impressions from the West, and has taken back, for the fictions which it lent, a rich return of others transplanted thence. The internal form of the story must decide its origin.

The brothers Grimm have expressed two opinions on the origin of our story, the later of which seems to be at variance with their earlier one. In the edition of "Poor Henry," (Berlin Royal School Book Establishment, 1815) it is said that the Jew, according to the original tale, wished to buy heart's blood, to cure himself of a bad disease which could not be otherwise healed. According to this, our story will connect itself with that of "Poor Henry" and "Blue Beard," with both of which, as we have already seen, it has the whetting of the knife in common. It is known that Poor Henry was to be cured of leprosy by the blood of a pure virgin; but it is less generally known that the brothers Grimm supposed in Blue Beard the purpose to cure himself, by the blood of his wives, of the sickness which caused his blue beard. When, besides, according to the popular belief, the Jews lay in wait

for Christian children, to obtain their blood, whereby one must suppose the purpose to heal themselves with it, this conjecture has much probability; the more so, as we can show that there was, even in Shakespeare's time, the notion of such a use of the purchased flesh. In the ninety-fifth declamation of the book already mentioned, called "The Orator," the Jew adduces in his speech many purposes for which he might possibly want the flesh: among others, he says: "I might also say that I have need of this flesh to cure a friend of mine of a certain malady (leprosy, for example) which is otherwise incurable."¹ But, though it readily occurs to the mind to imagine such an application of the flesh, the foundation of the story must be sought deeper: at most, this by-thought may have had the effect of ascribing to a Jew the desire for Christian flesh, because we most readily imagine in this nation, whatever the truth may be, those evil diseases which spread the leprosy in the East. But just as well may the other cause have operated—namely, the hatred of the Christians attributed to the Jews, with which so horrible a desire after Christian flesh fully agreed. It is not a Jew who makes this agreement either, in all forms of the story. We have seen that in the oldest representation of this tale, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a Christian merchant makes the compact with the Knight.

Another view is found in Jacob Grimm's *German Law Antiquities*, S. 616. It is well known that, according to the Roman law of the twelve tables, the creditor had the right² over the debtor assigned to him (*addictus*), if no payment were made after the lapse of sixty days and a threefold pro-

¹ "Or that I would have it to thereby terrify the Christians for ever abusing the Jews any more hereafter." I quote this for the purpose of remarking that the ground of the "Merchant of Venice" appears to me to be rather *religious animosity* than any particular satire.—ED.

² A right, however, which does not appear to have been ever put in practice.—ED.

clamation of the debt, to *kill* him, or to sell him on the other side of the Tiber (*postea de capite addicti pœnas sumito aut si volet uls Tiberim venum dato*). If he was assigned to several creditors, they might cut him to pieces, according to the uncial proportion of their debt, without having, like Shylock, to fear a punishment if they did not accurately observe this proportion. (*Si pluribus addictus sit, partes secanto, si plus minusve secuerint se [sine] fraude esto*. Cf. Niebuhr's Roman History, first edition, ii., 314). This horrible right, thinks Grimm, is met with in old stories, transplanted into the middle ages, but so different therefrom, that they must have arisen from other sources. For instance, because the twelve tables appoint the *sectio corporis* without previous stipulation, and only in the case of several creditors, and declare that the cutting more or less is not punishable, Grimm imagines that he must ascribe an influence upon the formation of the story to the German law, which allowed even to a single creditor the mutilation of the debtor. But the Roman law gave even to a single creditor a right over the life and death of the debtor; consequently, he was allowed also to mutilate him: the German law, which expressly declares this, does not, therefore, in this respect, differ from the Roman. It is natural, also, that the *sectio corporis* in our story should only happen upon an express stipulation; because the old common right, at the time when the story appears, was already forgotten, and therefore the assumption of a special agreement was needful to revive it again in its complete severity. But such an agreement might have been met with, even in the time of the twelve tables. Lastly, if, in the story, the cutting too much or too little is made punishable, it is because here a later and milder law comes into force in opposition to the older and more severe form.

Here we first approach the meaning of the story. It is one of law-history, and represents the triumph of the *œquitas* over the *jus strictum*—in other words, over the essential

content of the whole Roman law-history. This *æquitas*, the milder principle of law, rests here upon the fundamental principle that human blood should not be shed; a respect which the Roman law, allowing to the creditor the mutilation of the debtor, had neglected with unexampled barbarity. The creditor, here the Jew, demands this old, severe justice; and, with an obstinacy peculiar to his nation, "will have his bond." The judge, also, cannot deny severe justice; he must have what the bond promises, but neither more nor less. Here his obstinacy is met by an equal obstinacy: he will allow no *æquitas*, and demands his *jus strictum*; but the judge binds him down to a *jus strictissimum*, and that also in favour of this *æquitas*, which, like every later principle of law, acts in the form of an exception, annihilating the substance of the old law, without formally repealing it. In fact, the old law is observed as to its form, in the permission given to the Jew to cut as much flesh as the bond promises; whilst the exception, "no more and no less," absorbs its whole substance, and decides at once the triumph of equity and the rights of humanity.

Doubtless it will be objected to me that, after all, wrong is done to the old law, inasmuch as the clause expressly mentioned in the twelve tables, *si plus minuste secuerint, se fraude esto*, is disregarded by the Prætor when he gives the defendant the benefit of such an exception. But the Prætor might avoid this clause, if, instead of the exception, no more and no less, he had given that which stands first in Shakespeare and alone in the *Gesta*, without shedding blood. The story did not take that clause of the twelve tables into the bond given to the Jew, which represents the strict law, but placed both principles in their universality one against the other: for, in truth, that clause was not in accordance with the spirit of severe justice which ought rather to have confined each creditor strictly to the uncial proportion of his debt. This clause was added to the law only for the sake of making it practi-

cable. Whoever is in any degree familiar with the Roman law must confess that the story represents very sufficiently the march of development of the Roman law, from the opposition of the more severe and the milder principle to a single event. That this event is connected with the right of compulsory servitude is not without meaning, as no ordinance of the twelve tables is more revolting and inhuman than this; and for this reason it was adapted to represent abstract severe justice in the story.

On account of this relation to the Roman law-history, which the internal form of the story makes known, we can neither, with the English, believe in an Oriental origin, nor, with Grimm, recognise in it a native German story. In the German law, the old, severe justice was not preserved even formally, but had been superseded by another *jus strictum*. The judge, therefore, would not have said, "Cut, but beware of spilling any blood;" but, "The bond is invalid; cut not, on pain of thy life." Yet in these words of the Roman Prætor lies the whole sense and spirit of the story.

We cannot either allow the fact upon which Grimm rests, that the story first took its rise in Germany and Lombardy. The *Gesta Romanorum*, in which it first appears, belong to Southern France, where, as Grimm himself confesses, (Popular Stories, iii., 371) and Douce doubts without sufficient reason, it was composed by Bercheur de Poitou. Grimm certainly remarks (Law Antiquities, S. 616, Note) that the Latin text does not contain this story, but it is well known that the editions, as well as the manuscripts, differ much one from the other; and, as the story is found in the German and English translations, it may probably have been in the Latin original. Lessing asserts this in the second letter to Eschenburg already mentioned; and Tyrwhitt has made use of an old Latin manuscript, (MSS. Harl., 2270) which he praises as the most perfect which he has ever seen, in which

the forty-eighth chapter contains this story, out of which he quotes several passages *verbatim*.¹ Even the copy which Douce made use of in his dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum*, must have contained the story (compare Illustrations of Shakespeare, ii., 385, i., 281). It is true, this chapter may have been translated from the German, and may be an addition of a later German translator of the collection; but what proof is there that this German text again was not founded upon a Latin original?²

Our opinion that the story contains an old law anecdote, and that one full of the most meaning and incident that can exist, is supported by the form of the fable in the old *Meistergesang* of Kaiser Karls Recht, printed at Bamberg in 1493, the contents of which are thus given in the "Old German Museum," ii., 279-283:—

"A rich merchant left his whole possession to his son, which he squandered in the first year. He then borrows a thousand guilders of a Jew, to try his fortune abroad. The condition is the one already known. He returns with great gain, but does not find the Jew at home, and so overstays the time; at least, the Jew maintains that he has not fulfilled the contract, because the time has elapsed. They conclude to travel to the Emperor Charles, (this must be Charles the Great) that he may decide the dispute. On the road, the merchant falls asleep on his horse, and runs over and kills a child who was in his way. The child's father proclaims him for a murderer, and follows him, to make good his accusation to the Emperor's court. Here the merchant is taken into custody, but by a new misfortune falls out of the window,

¹ I have given these, with extracts from another manuscript, in a note at the end of this chapter.—ED.

² Douce was inclined to derive the process for the pound of flesh from the twelve tables, if it had not occurred in Oriental sources (i., 290). Besides, we find in Douce a long list of places in which this suit is mentioned (p. 279).

and kills an old Knight who was sitting below upon a bench. The son of this Knight now comes forward as plaintiff against the merchant, so that the Emperor has three causes to decide. The dispute with the Jew is settled in the well known manner; the claim as to the child he decides in a less satisfactory way. 'Send him to thy wife, that he may beget thee another child.' — 'Nay,' said the man, 'I will rather say nothing more of my loss.' He advises the son of the old Knight, as the most satisfactory manner of avenging his father, to go up into the chamber, have the merchant placed upon the bench, and the young man may then fall upon him and kill him. But the young Knight fears he may fall beside him, and so gives up his claim to vengeance."

Here also are introduced some law anecdotes, very inferior in depth, however, to the one in question. The last of them is a jest still current among the people against the *Jus Talionis*, which is met with also in *Bidermanni Utopia*, Dilingæ, 1691, p. 310.

II. The other part of the story of Giovanni, and of that of the *Gesta Romanorum*, the courtship of the Emperor's daughter, or of the lady of Belmonte,¹ reminds us most im-

¹ Warton has referred to the ancient romance of Barlaam and Josaphat as the remote but original source of Shakespeare's caskets. According to the Greek original, which has not been printed, "the King commanded four chests to be made, two of which were covered with gold, and secured by golden locks, but filled with the rotten bones of human carcasses. The other two were overlaid with pitch, and bound with rough cords, but replenished with precious stones and the most exquisite gems, and with ointments of the richest odour. He called his nobles together, and, placing these chests before them, asked which they thought the most valuable. They pronounced those with the golden coverings to be the most precious, supposing they were made to contain the crowns and, girdles of the King. The two chests covered with pitch they viewed with contempt. Then said the King, 'I presumed what would be your determination; for ye look with the eyes of sense. But to discern baseness or value, which are hid within, we must look with the eyes of the

mediately of the German Brunhild, who chooses to be wooed in the same manner; but it still more reminds us of many German and Italian popular stories, where costly jewels are given for permission to pass one night only in the chamber of the beloved object, and every time a sleeping potion frustrates the lover's purpose, until at last he receives advice to pour out the drink secretly (compare Grimm's *Hausmärchen*, ii., 88, iii., 159).

In the story of the *Gesta Romanorum*, this is wrought by no sleeping potion, but by a magic writing which the maiden has laid under the pillow, and which the Knight must draw out and throw from him, in order to remain awake. Probably it was originally sleeping-Runes cut in a tablet or staff which wrought this enchantment. Such Runes laid under the pillow often occur; for example, in the *Egilssage* (compare Legis, Mines of the North, i., 17). In *Tristan*, it is the pillow itself which puts the good Kaedin to sleep, when he is with the beautiful Kamele. (Heinrich's Continuation, verss. 4910-20; Ulrich's Continuation, v., 1690-9.) That the first coy, nay, cruel King's daughter, after the condition is fulfilled, and the marriage accomplished, changes her feeling, and loves her husband, is entirely with the story, and is of the deepest meaning. It is an excellent addition that it should be she, who by undertaking the judge's office, frees her husband and his friend from the obligations which they had undertaken on her account.

This story, moreover, occurs by itself in the tale of Abdallah, the son of Hanif, which Sandisson translated into French from an Arabic manuscript which he professed to have found in Batavia, and from which there is an extract in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, Jan., 1778, A., p. 104. The

mind.' He then ordered the golden chests to be opened, which exhaled an intolerable stench, and filled the beholders with horror." Compare also a copy of the Latin *Gesta* in MS. Harl., 2270, and the other manuscripts cited by Warton.—ED.

princess is here bound by the will of her aunt, who left her her kingdom and crown, to subject her lover to such a test. This, however, is foreign to the connexion of the story: but the native prudery of the maiden makes this condition, and discovers the artifice of the sleeping potion, or magical writing; and only when this is overcome does "the virgin's mind change, so that she becomes wholly kind towards him," &c. But if, in Shakespeare, Portia is obliged, by the will of her father, to subject her suitors to the trial of the coffers, still we must not object to the incident; for here he has changed the condition of the story for a totally different one, the purpose of which was not to deceive the suitors of the coy maiden, but to find out the most worthy husband for her.

The story from which he borrowed the trial by the three coffers is doubtlessly the second here given, which is found only in the English *Gesta Romanorum*.¹ Our third (Dec. x., 1) had long passed for Shakespeare's source, but they are both related, and return in many forms. That the third also was known to Shakespeare is probable, as Valentine Schmidt has remarked, (Beitrage, S. 101) from a passage in "As You Like It;" for here is clearly an allusion to the words which Ruggieri addressed to his horse, when he added water to the water. We refer our readers especially to the comparison instituted by the learned author, in the passage already mentioned, between the stories relating to this incident; only subjoining, in respect to the story of Boccaccio, that it appears to have been a common subterfuge of penurious masters in the middle ages, that the ill fortune of the servant was to blame, not the illiberality of the court, if he carried away no gift therefrom. Walther von der Vogelweide expresses his

¹ It seems strange that M. Simrock should not have referred to the curious tale of the caskets in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which, though clearly not the original Shakespeare has followed, bears a great similarity to the incident in the play. I think, however, it is nearly the same tale we find in Boccaccio.—ED.

indignation on this subject (*Lachmann*, 70, 13):—"One speech shalt thou take heed of making. I mention this for my esteem of thee; for even if thou saidst it, I must hate it, as the niggards say when one asks his wages—'had he good luck, I would do him good.' They are themselves unhappy who speak thus, for they would not do as they say."

To give force to this pretence (had he good luck, I would do him good), the King, in Boccaccio, makes the trial of the two coffers: he succeeds in showing that fortune does not wish well to the Knight, as she suffers him to miss the one which is filled with gold: but afterwards he amends the fortune of the Knight by his kindness, in order to give a positive proof of his liberality. In Lehman's Chronicle of Spire (S. 788), the same story is told of a servant at the court of the Emperor Sigismund. Here, however, the Emperor does not undertake to amend the acts of fortune, but contents himself with having shown that his servant was wanting in good fortune, not himself in liberality. (Compare *Gräturs Bragur*, vol. v., pt. 2, 50.) In *Straparola*, xii., 5, is the same story of Sixtus V., with a new conclusion.

This idea enters in a very remarkable manner into an Oriental story of friendship. (Compare "Thousand and One Days," vol. iv., 184-6.) Of two friends who have mutually made for one another the greatest sacrifices which friendship can suggest, one is obliged to flee from his country, and comes to the court of the other, who is the King of Mosul. Here he hopes to find a sure asylum; but, to his great astonishment, he is refused admittance, and sent away with two hundred gold sequins, which he is to spend in trade, and he is not to return for six months. At the expiration of this period, he returns, and has only a hundred and fifty sequins remaining. When he now returns to his friend's court, and relates, at his request, what has happened to him, he is again refused admittance, and receives only fifty sequins, with the order to return again after another six months. When these

have passed, he has gained nearly a hundred sequins: he returns to the court; and now the King receives him affectionately, and excuses his former conduct with these words—
 “Thou knowest that misfortune is infectious. I had heard of thy misfortune, and dared not give thee a refuge, nor even see thee, for fear thy misfortune might impart itself to me, *and put me out of condition to do thee good when thy ill fortune had ceased.* Now that misfortune has departed from thee, nothing hinders me from following the impulse of friendship.” And of this friendship he now gives him the most undoubted proof, by sacrificing to him his love. Hence, it clearly appears that the former dismissal during his misfortune was meant only for his friendly advantage. This idea of the infectious power of misfortune, which also moved the guest of the too happy Polycrates to give up his friendship, may very possibly lie in the background of our story, and may not unfrequently have served penurious masters as an excuse for their avarice.

[*Note by the Editor.*]

Tyrwhitt's notices of the tales in the Latin *Gesta*, referred to in the preceding pages are so necessary to the proper understanding of the argument, that the reader will not be displeased to have the opportunity of perusing them. The first tale, *Of the Bond*, is in ch. xlviii. of MS. Harl., 2270. A knight there borrows money of a merchant, upon condition of forfeiting *all his flesh* for non-payment. When the penalty is exacted before the judge, the *knight's mistress*, disguised, *in forma viri et vestimentis pretiosis induta*, comes into court, and, by permission of the Judge, endeavours to mollify the merchant. She first offers him his money, and then the double of it, &c., to all which his answer is—
 “*Conventionem meam volo habere.*—Puella, cum hoc audisset, ait coram omnibus, Domine mi judex, da rectum judicium super his quæ vobis dixero.—Vos scitis quod miles nunquam se obligabat ad aliud per literam nisi quod mercator habeat potestatem carnes ab ossibus scindere, *sine sanguinis effusione*, de quo nihil erat prolocutum. Statim mittat manum in eum; si vero sanguinem effuderit, *Rex contra eum actionem habet.* Mercator, cum hoc audisset, ait; date mihi pecuniam et omnem actionem ei

remitto. Ait puella, Amen dico tibi, nullum denarium habebis—pone ergo manum in eum, ita ut sanguinem non effundas. Mercator vero videns se confusum, abcessit; et sic vita militis salvata est, et nullum denarium dedit." The other incident, of the *caskets*, is in ch. xcix. of the same collection. A King of Apulia sends his daughter to be married to the son of an Emperor of Rome. After some adventures, (which are nothing to the present purpose) she is brought before the Emperor; who says to her, "Puella, propter amorem filii mei multa adversa sustinuisti. Tamen si digna fueris ut uxor ejus sis cito probabo. Et fecit fieri tria vasa. PRIMUM fuit de auro purissimo et lapidibus pretiosis interius ex omni parte, et plenum ossibus mortuorum: et exterius erat subscriptio; Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod meruit. SECUNDUM vas erat de argento puro et gemmis pretiosis, plenum terra, et exterius erat subscriptio: Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod natura appetit. TERTIUM vas de plumbo plenum lapidibus pretiosis enterius et gemmis nobilissimis; et exterius erat subscriptio talis: Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod Deus disposuit. Ista tria ostendit puellæ, et dixit, Si unum ex istis elegeris in quo commodum, et proficuum est, filium meum habebis. Si vero eligeris quod nec tibi nec aliis est commodum, ipsum non habebis." The young lady, after mature consideration of the vessels and their inscriptions, chooses the *lead*, which being opened, and found to be full of gold and precious stones, the Emperor says: "Bona puella, bene elegisti—ideo filium meum habebis."

The bond story is found in a variety of forms, and Mr. Wright discovered the following very curious version of it in MS. Harl., 7322, a manuscript of the early part of the fourteenth century, written in *England*, a collection of Latin stories for preachers. The scene of the tale is laid in Denmark:—"In Dacia erat quidam homo habens duos filios, quorum senior est maliciosus et parcus, junior autem non tantum liberalis sed prodigus. Cum autem junior hospitalitati omnia quæ habuit expendisset, accidit ut duos homines peterent ab eo hospitium. Ille autem, quanquam nihil haberet unde honeste eos reciperet, propter tamen verecundiam eos recepit. Cum autem nihil haberet unde cibaria eis pararet præter unam vaccam, eam occidit. Deficiente igitur pane et potu, fratrem seniore adivit, subsidium ab eo requirens; qui respondit se sibi nihil penitus daturum, nisi emeret. Contestante autem juniore se nihil habere, respondit senior, 'Immo,' inquit, 'carnem tuam habes, vende mihi ad latitudinem manus meæ de carne tua in quibus et in quadruplum ubicunque voluero recipere.' Junior parvipendens pepigit cum eo, testibus adhibitis. Modus autem et istius patris est sic vel alibi sub quavis falsitate

scripti vel chirographi ita nisi sub teste licet emere vel vendere. Recedentibus igitur hospitibus et consumptis cibariis, pactum poposcit senior frater. Negat junior, et adductus est coram rege, et sententiatus coram juniore ut ad locum suppliciorum deducatur, et accipiat senior tantum de carne quantum pactum est vel in capite vel circa cor. Misertus autem sui populus eo quod liberalis erat, nunciaverunt filio regis quæ et quare hæc facta fuerant, qui statim misericordia motus, induit se, et palefridum ascendens secutus est miserum illum sic dampnatum; et cum venisset ad locum supplicii, videns eum populus qui ad spectaculum confluxerant, cessit sibi. Et alloquens filius regis fratrem illum seniorelem crudelem, et dixit ei: 'Quid juris habes in isto?' Respondit: 'Sic,' inquit, 'pacti sumus, ut pro cibariis tantundem de carne sua mihi daret, et condemnatus est ad solutionem per patrem tuum regem.' Cui filius regis, 'Nihil,' inquit, 'aliud petis nisi carnem?' Respondit, 'Nihil.' Cui filius, 'Ergo sanguis suus in carne sua est;' et ait filius isti condemnato, 'Da mihi sanguinem tuum,' et statim pepigerunt, insuper fecit sibi condemnatus homagium. Tunc dixit filius regis fratri seniori, 'Modo cape ubicunque volueris carnem tuam; sed si sanguis meus est, si ex eo minimam guttam effunderis, morieris.' Quo viso, recessit senior confusus, et liberatus est junior per regem."

VI. CYMBELINE.

It is not certain whether the novel of Boccaccio (Dec. ii., 9) is the immediate or only the remote source of our play. Grimm (*Altdeutsche Wälder* i., 27) expressly denies it. Meanwhile, no story has yet been found which has more traits in common with our author's "Cymbeline." Though Benda gives as Shakespeare's undoubted original the second story in the work entitled "Westward for Smelts," which appeared at London in 1603,¹ and which story he has translated *verbatim* in the remarks to this play, yet this assertion is quite ungrounded. The greater number of the English critics decide for our story; and even Malone remarked that far more circumstances agree with Shakespeare here than in that story, which besides is nothing but a direct imitation of Boccaccio's story, adapted to English manners. With this Dunlop agrees, ii., 255 *et seq.* It mentions nothing of the chest whereby the traitor contrives to introduce himself by night into the chamber of the faithful wife—nothing of the pictures in it—nothing of the mole on her bosom—instead of this decisive token, a crucifix is represented as sufficing to convince the credulous husband of his wife's guilt. This defect is not counter-

¹ This date is given solely on the authority of Steevens, but Mr. Collier is of opinion that it was first published in 1620, being entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in that year. Mr. Collier says the only copy known of the edition of 1620 is preserved in the Capell collection, but I have recently purchased a fine copy of the work, which certainly has no indication of having been a republication. A curious woodcut of a barge occurs on the title-page. I am inclined to believe Steevens' assertion, because he refers to the entry in the Stationers' Register as containing information not found in the edition he used.—ED.

balanced by other traits which are wanting in Boccaccio,¹ and which might show that Shakespeare had known only this form of the story. Probably the tragedy was written before the publication of the story; for though Malone conjectures the former was composed in the year 1605, because the stories of Lear and Cymbeline stand near each other in Holinshed's Chronicle, yet Benda remarks, very justly, how insufficient this datum is to determine the age of the piece: but he is not more successful himself, when he maintains with confidence that the piece was not composed before 1603, because the story first came out in that year. Tieck assumes that this piece is a work of the poet's youth, resumed in his after-life.

That no English translation of this play can be produced of Shakespeare's age is no decisive proof whether our supposition be allowed that Shakespeare could read it in the original; or we suppose, with the English, that the translations have been lost.² The Italian names, Philario, Pisanio, and Iachimo, would imply a borrowing from an Italian source; though the episode of the stolen sons of the King, Guiderius and

¹ The tale in the Decameron is unquestionably, in some measure, the source of Shakespeare's play, but it had probably been translated into English in other forms besides that contained in the "Westward for Smelts." One translation of the story was published as early as 1518, under the title of "Frederike of Gennen," a copy of which was in Captain Cox's library. I have seen only a fragment of this tract; and should feel much obliged if any reader would refer me to the existence of a complete copy.—ED.

² Two similarities are mentioned by Mr. Collier between an early French miracle-play and the play of "Cymbeline." In the former, the seducer boasts that, if he could speak to the lady twice, he would conquer her virtue. This boast also occurs in Shakespeare's play; but it seems to me a natural coincidence, and similar to what would be placed in the mouth of any libertine. The second similarity is in the seducer assaulting the virtue of the lady by pretending that her husband had set her the example of infidelity. This incident is also much too universal to be considered in this case as any remarkable coincidence.—ED.

Arviragus, and a great part of the fate of Leonatus Posthumus, give ground for the supposition that Shakespeare had previously met with another story, and amalgamated it with this. Perhaps this union of the fate of Imogen with the old British popular story, as told by Holinshed, and before him by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, had already taken place in a popular story then current, and of which Shakespeare made use. This would remove the reproach, on which English critics lay so much stress, that Shakespeare has peopled ancient Rome with modern Italians: for if he found those Italian names already existing in a popular romance, he could not change them for others without prejudice to the popularity of his piece. Douce, (*Illustrations*, ii., 199) imagines that he finds in the romance of Xenophon Ephesius, "Abrocamas and Anthia," which he also considers as the earliest source of "Romeo and Juliet," two incidents which also occur in "Cymbeline." The first is as follows:—When Anthia has become the slave of Mantos and her husband, the latter becomes enamoured of her; the jealous Manto, discovering this, orders a trusty servant to take Anthia into the wood, and put her to death. The servant, however, like the servant in Boccaccio, and Pisanio, in Shakespeare, pities the unfortunate Anthia, and spares her life. This incident, which occurs perpetually in stories of all times and of all nations, proves nothing, especially as it is found in Boccaccio in much nearer connexion with the fortune of Imogen. The other incident is that of the sleeping potion, which Imogen drinks like Anthia and Julia, after taking which she is judged dead by Arviragus and Guiderius, and then awakes to enter into the service of the Roman General. It is not to be denied here that the sleeping potion has more analogy in its operation with "Cymbeline" than with "Romeo and Juliet," and therefore it is very possible that, in the popular relation which we have already supposed Shakespeare to have made use of, the romance of Xenophon may have been incorporated with the

story of Boccaccio, if, indeed, Shakespeare himself did not undertake this incorporation.¹

In the story of Cymbeline and his two sons, related by Geoffrey of Monmouth, there are but few incidents to remind us of Shakespeare. "When Cymbeline had ruled ten years over the Britons, he begat two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus: to the first of these he left the kingdom at his death. He refused the Romans their tribute, whereupon Claudius landed with an army, and besieged Porchester. With him was a man named Levis Hamo, on whose counsel he relied in matters of war. When it came to a contest, Guiderius performed prodigies of valour, and Claudius was flying to the ships, when the cunning Hamo threw his arms from him, clothed and armed himself as a Briton, and so fought against the Romans. He encourages the Britons to follow the enemy, and gain a full victory; for he had learned their language and manners, having grown up among the British hostages at Rome. In this manner he drew near to King Guiderius, who suspected no treachery, and slew him unawares with a stroke of the sword. He then fled again to the Romans. When Arviragus saw his brother slain, he put on his armour, and led the Britons against the Romans, as if he were Guiderius himself." Thus, in Shakespeare, Leonatus Posthumus twice changes his armour: once to fight with the Britons, when he had come with the Romans; the second time to be taken captive by the Britons as a Roman. But it is exactly his fortunes which give most foundation for the suspicion that a popular form of the story lay between Geoffrey of Monmouth's account and Shakespeare's representation.²

¹ This is, I think, most unlikely. If the Greek romance had any influence at all on the story employed by Shakespeare, it can at best be supposed to be a very remote original.—ED.

² Even the name of Imogen occurs in Holinshed and Geoffrey of Monmouth; not, however, in the story of Cymbeline and his son, but at the beginning of the Chronicle, in the history of Brutus and Locrine.

Meanwhile, it is certain that the story of Cassibelan, which is given in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, 1781, (Janv. A., p. 21) without any note of the source, has been in no way used by Shakespeare; for, although this agrees with his representation even to the minutest points, this agreement is far too close to allow us to deny that the composer has rather drawn from Shakespeare. In some notes subjoined to this story, even the English commentary on Shakespeare is made use of; for example, p. 64, where the passage quoted from Erasmus is borrowed from a note of Warburton. We cannot, therefore, doubt that the editors of the *Bibliothèque* have copied Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," and, contrary to their usual custom, have omitted to mention the source whence it was taken, to conceal the departure from the plan of their work, which was only to contain extracts from romances,¹ not from plays.

The story of Boccaccio has probably taken its rise from a Latin original, which is most likely that of the German folk-book, which appeared first without date or place, under the title, *Ein leipliche history und Warheit von vier Kaufmenden* (a pleasant history and truth of four merchants); and was afterwards printed at Nuremberg, under the title, *Ain lipliche historie von vier Kaufleuten*. In Sweden and Denmark this book is still popular; in Germany it has gone out of use, but has been lately replaced by an entirely modern work, which has arisen out of Boccaccio's novel. It bears the title of "The beautiful Caroline a Captain of Hussars, or the magnanimous merchant's wife," 8vo., 1826. Upon the earlier work, compare Grimm, *Alldeutsche Wulder*, i., 68.

¹ Mr. Collier, in his *Shakespeare's Library*, gives an account of two old French romances, which contain the incident of the wager. In one of these, a secret hole in the wall of the room where the lady takes a bath enables the man to discover a peculiar mark on her body; in the other, tokens are stolen by a perfidious attendant. These tales prove the popularity of this incident, but only remotely illustrate Shakespeare's plot.—ED.

Augustus von Schlegel gives as the idea of "All's Well that Ends Well," that female truth and submission conquer the misuse of male superiority. Thus expressed, the same thought is the foundation also of the present play, and of several others of Shakespeare's; among these we place *King Lear*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Pericles of Tyre*, and *Othello*: though, in the last, the triumph of pure womanhood takes a tragic turn. In "Measure for Measure," Shakespeare scarcely found this idea ready to his hand; but, by the alterations already noticed, he contrived to draw his material into the same circle, and even to duplicate the principle in *Isabella* and *Mariana*. In "The London Prodigal," falsely attributed to Shakespeare, it is the wonderful fidelity of the woman which reforms the villain of the piece. We should never finish our task, if we were to enumerate all the fictions on this subject; we therefore confine ourselves to the most important. Schlegel has already quoted, in illustration, the story of *Griselda*, which, under the name of "The Margrave Walther," has become a popular German story: but we may as justly reckon among the number those of *Lucretia*, in *Livy*; of *Bertha* with the broad foot, the wife of *Pipin* (compare *Valentine Schmidt*, on the Italian heroic poems, 1-42, and *Grimm*, "Old German Forests," iii., 43); of *Hildegard*, the wife of *Charles the Great*, (*Schreiber's "Tales of the Rhine,"* 63) which agrees in almost every point with that of *Crescentia* (*Kolocza Codex*, edited by *Count Mailath*, Pest. 1817, 241). The two last stories are merely the Oriental tale of the *Cadi* and his wife, "Arabian Nights," ii., 243 *et seq.* Even the confession is found here, but not the leprosy. (Compare chap. ci. of the English *Gesta Romanorum*, according to the extract in *Douce*, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, ii., 416.) The popular tales of *Hirlanda*, *Helena*, and *Kaisar Octavian*, again belong to this cycle; and these are connected, as well with one another, as the last mentioned is with the French tale of *Valentine* and

Orson. To these we must add the stories of Genofeva and Siegfried, connected with the tale of Siegfried's birth, as told in the *Wilkinasage*; and finally, the new popular book of *Itha von Toggenburg*, whose fortunes are related in the last volume of the German "Thousand and One Nights," 168. The romance of Sir Galmy in the "Book of Love," of which an abridged popular form has been preserved, forms the connexion between these and Fridolin. Still later comes *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, which is closely connected with *Giletta di Narbonne*, and with an English ballad in which the dream under the elder tree heard by the Knight occurs, which has given so much pleasure on our stage. The Scottish ballad of Child Waters is more similar to Griselda. The *Roman de la Violette*, the origin of Spohr's *Euryanthe*, stands between our tale and that of Crescentia. Finally, the old German heroic poem of Chautrun, and the Indian tales of Damajanti and of Sacontala, have the same tendency.

In this great family of stories, a narrower cycle is formed by those which, like our tale, begin with a husband who is at first well disposed, and convinced of the virtue of his wife, and who wagers with a calumniator of the whole sex that the latter shall not be able to triumph over the lady's virtue. This introduction has decided advantages: for, besides that it at once establishes the theme in question, it also serves greatly to the development of the principal idea, when the husband, at first so confident that he can venture his whole fortune upon his wife's virtue, is yet not found sufficiently firm in his belief and confidence, inasmuch as he suffers himself to be deceived by proofs and tokens surreptitiously obtained, and to be hurried into barbarities which terminate in introducing the triumph of feminine fidelity and patience. The apparent victory gained for a while by the unworthy opinion of the sex only serves at last to show the purity and exalted nature of women in brighter colours, in which even the best husband has shown too little confidence.

This may be the reason why this introduction is such a favourite, though it occurs sometimes in tales where it can have no effect, the story taking another turn. Among this number is the favourite ballad—

“There sat two companions,” &c.,

in which the divulging of the secrets of love is avenged immediately upon the person who betrays them; for his love, who has listened to the companions, shuts the door upon him, and sends him away with the well known words—“Go whence thou camest, and bind thy horse on a green bough.” Compare *Cento novelle Antiche*, nov. 61.

If we compare this with our story, it appears censurable, in the first instance, that Bernabo should so much as speak of the charms of his wife before those licentious strange merchants; and, in fact, his loquacity may be considered as the origin of all his succeeding misfortunes.

The story of Lucretia also begins with a similar wager, though Livy has left it in doubt whether it referred to the lady's excellence generally, or only to that of her chastity. Here, indeed, Tarquinius Sextus breaks the conditions of the wager, inasmuch as he gains by force what Ambrogivolo's cunning pretends to have obtained; but the shaming of the husband for his wavering faith does not occur. On the other hand, the death of Lucretia, in reference to Collatinus, may be considered as a punishment of his vainglory, or of his guilt in having so much as questioned the virtue of his wife.

The story takes another turn in the Middle High German poem of the two merchants, (reprinted in “The Old German Forests,” i., 35-66) the contents of which we give in an abridged form, as it refers not only to our story, but to Boccaccio's *Gilletta di Narbonne*, and to the alterations which Shakespeare has made in “Measure for Measure,” in the material which he borrowed from Cinthio.

In Verdun, in France, lived two merchants, who were intimate friends, named Gilot and Gillam; one of whom was

rich, and the other poor. The rich man had a daughter named Irmengart; the poor man a son called Bertram. Friendship moves Gilot to give his daughter in marriage to the son of his poor friend. When the wedding has been solemnized, and the bride taken home, Bertram is compelled by urgent business to go to the annual fair at Provins. Taking a tender leave of his young wife, he arrives safely at Provins, where he takes up his quarters at the best inn. At table he meets with many merchants, who, in the course of conversation, speak of their wives at home. One pretends that he is sure his wife is a devil, and no woman; and no one should come too near her. The other, on the contrary, praises his as kind and compassionate, and one given to taking pity on her neighbours; whereby it comes to pass that he has two bastards to support. The third has a wife who "drinks till her tongue stumbles," &c. The host then challenges Bertram to give an account of his wife, and he praises her as the flower of all women. The host, however, offers to wager with him, that within a short time he will go to bed with her. Bertram accepts the challenge, and both stake all their possessions on the wager. Bertram now sends word to his wife that he is going to Venice, and will not return very shortly; and the host betakes himself to Verdun, and takes lodgings opposite the house of Irmengart. He seeks to seduce her, first by greetings, then by presents, then by bribing messengers, and at last by great offers. Finally, when he proffers her a thousand marks for one night, all the people in the house persuade her not to lose such a sum. She seeks protection with her nearest relatives, with her parents, and those of her husband; but even these, blinded by the gold, command her to accept the offer, and threaten her with the anger of her husband, when he returns and hears that he has lost such a sum for a whim of hers. Irmengart, at these counsels and threats, falls into the utmost despair. In this distress, she turns to God, who pities her goodness, and sends

her good counsel. In accordance with this, she sends word to Hogier (for this was the host's name) that she is ready to do his will; that he must send the money, and come to her secretly in the night; but she changes clothes with her maid Amelin, whom she puts off in her stead upon Hogier. When the night is past, and Hogier wishes to depart, he asks for a token; but this being refused, he cuts off a finger of Amelin, whom he takes for Irmengart, and takes it with him. Bertram, however, will not be convinced of his wife's dishonesty, and both travel back to Verdun, where Hogier promises to show the proof that he has won his wager. When they arrive there, Bertram prepares a great feast, and invites all his relatives to it. Irmengart remarks his grief, and asks the cause: he confides to her the story of the wager, when she comforts him, and says—"His arts shall avail him nothing; all he has is ours." When the feast is over, Hogier relates the story to the assembled guests, and maintains that he has won the wager, showing as proof the cut finger. Irmengart now confesses her fault, but excuses herself by saying that all her relatives had counselled her to earn the money. When she has shamed them by this, she shows both hands, on which there is no finger wanting, and at the same time comes Amelin, and complains of her misfortune. Hogier now confesses that he has lost both the wager and his fortune; but Amelin is given him to wife, with a dowry of a hundred marks. At the conclusion of the piece, the author gives his name, Ruprecht von Würzburg.

A modern Greek ballad in Bartholdy's "Fragments for the Knowledge of Greece," (Berlin, 1805, 430-440, reprinted in the "Old German Forests," ii., 181) tells the same story; but here the brother lays a wager with the King on the chastity of his sister; and the King, in conclusion, is claimed by the sister as her servant:—

"So open now your eyes and see, both lords and lowly born,
My fingers are in number full, my head is all unshorn:

As with my servant he hath lain, therefore is he my knave;
 So fill thy wallet and go out, as doth beseech a slave!
 Fetch water from the well for us, so much as we require,
 And on thine ass from yonder wood fetch fuel for our fire."

Finally, the often-mentioned old Welsh story of Taliesin ("Old German Forests," i., 70) contains the same fundamental features. It will readily be remarked, that in the old German poem, the wager brings no shame to the bridegroom; for he does not wholly deny his confidence in the chastity of his wife; instead of this, the parents and relatives are put to shame, who have counselled Irmengart to earn the gold; so that here also the story sets the main idea in the clearest light, by the contrast between the greedy relatives and the high feeling of the woman. This, however, does not happen immediately through the bet, which, therefore, is not so intimately connected with the story as in Boccaccio's relation. For this reason, we prefer the latter.

The connexion, moreover, with *Giletta di Narbonne* is shown even in the names. The father of Irmengart is called Gilot, her father-in-law Gillam; neither of them differing much from Giletta. Her husband is called Bertram; the husband of Giletta is Beltram, which is the same name. On the other side, Bernabo, Ginevra's husband, as Grimm has already remarked, reminds us also of Bertram; and Ambrogivolo of the Ambrosius of the German popular tale. This interchange can only be explained by the relationship of the two stories. The former story does not confine itself closely to the common idea; but this idea develops itself in both cases in the same manner; the deceit by the substitution of a false bride is common to the two stories. In Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," the substitution of Mariana for Isabella, if we look at the relation of the latter to Angelo, is like that of Amelin for Irmengart, in the old German poem; but if we look at the relation of Angelo to Mariana, to whom

he has promised marriage, it is the change of Giletta di Narbonne against the gentlewoman's daughter.

In conclusion, we should mention the *novella* of Bandello, i., 21, which commences also with the same wager, but afterwards takes quite another turn. The lady entices both the false lovers who have wagered with her husband into a tower, and obliges one to spin and the other to wind thread, if they do not wish to perish. The husband has a magic glass, which informs him from a distance of his wife's behaviour. Connected with this is a story in the German *Gesta Romanorum*, where the husband's shirt remains white so long as his wife keeps her faith to him. The rest of the story is very similar to Bandello. This latter has also furnished Massinger with material for his drama, "The Picture." Compare Valentine Schmidt's contributions to the History of Romantic Poetry, 14, where also are given the later modifications of Boccaccio's story.¹

¹ Daubing with honey, and exposing to the wasps and flies in a burning sun, is an old punishment. Compare Grimm's German Legal Antiquities. The passage there quoted should also be mentioned (Apuleius, *Asinus Aureus*, lib. viii., p. 180, ed. Bipont). The incident here referred to concludes the tale in the Decameron.

VII. THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

The first sketch of this play appeared in 1602,¹ soon after the poet remodelled it into the form in which we now possess it. If Malone's conjecture be correct, that this had been done in 1603, though it was not printed in the new form till 1623, then Shakespeare cannot have made use of the first story in "Westward for Smelts," which did not appear till 1603. We are sorry that we have been unable to procure this book. It might have given us information on the witch of Brentford, of which, it is said, the first story treats.

The English illustrators of Shakespeare assume that he obtained his materials from the following pieces:—

1. The Two Lovers of Pisa, in "Tarleton's News out of Purgatory," 1590. This has been reprinted in the edition of Johnson and Steevens, and is evidently taken from the story of The Ring, in Straparola.

2. The first story in "The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers." Steevens, it is true, had seen no earlier edition of this work than that of 1632, in 4to; but Malone asserts that the stories which it contains had already been published in Shakespeare's time. This story is, as the extract in Malone shows, only an imitation of the story of Giovanni.

¹ Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society, 1842. At the end of that reprint, I have given a collection of the tales on which this play has been supposed to be founded, including the story from "Westward for Smelts," which gives no information of the kind supposed by M. Simrock.—ED.

Steevens has already remarked, that stories i., 2, of Giovanni, and iv., 4, in the *Notti Piacevoli* of Straparola, bear a great resemblance to Shakespeare's comedy. Both, without doubt, treat of the same incident; and, indeed, it seems clear that Straparola, whose *novellino* appeared for the first time at Venice in 1550, must have borrowed from the *Pecorone*, which is a much older work.

Our second story¹ then shows the passage between Shakespeare's representation and that of the other novels; for in this the three women play only one trick with the student, as Shakespeare's merry wives do with Falstaff; whilst in the other stories, and in the English tales derived from them, it is rather the husbands who are bandied about. Filenio also makes propositions of love to all the three ladies, which they confide one to another, and resolve to avenge themselves upon him, just as Falstaff sends the same love-letter to Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, for which they conspire against him.

It would not have been sufficient, however, to give this second story only, inasmuch as Shakespeare borrowed from the two others the relation of Falstaff to Ford, who, in his disguise as Brooke, learns from Falstaff all that has happened to the latter with his wife—a feature of the story which evidently has its origin in the first and third of our stories.²

The history of the minstrel and the dealer in herbs, in the story translated by Dr. Maximilian Habicht, from an oriental MS., (*Arabian Nights*, Breslau, 1827, xiv., 18) is either the source of Giovanni and Straparola, or the Arabic tale has

¹ The author here alludes to the tale of Straparola. The points of resemblance with Shakespeare's plot are neither numerous nor striking, chiefly consisting in the plurality of lovers, and the ladies communicating to each other the addresses of the same gallant.—ED.

² Referring here to the tale of Giovanni Fiorentino, and the second story from Straparola.—ED.

been taken from one of our stories. The resemblance of both is striking, only that in the Arabic story the introduction appears to be disfigured; viz., that the herbseller advises the musician to go through the streets of the city, and to give himself out as a singer where he smells the smell of medicinal roots and drinks. The musician follows this counsel, and is taken in and entertained by the wife of the herb-dealer himself. The rest is like our story. It is much better in Giovanni, where the Professor gives the Student instruction in the art of love, and the latter meets with the Professor's wife.

Molière also has made use of one of these tales, in his *École des Femmes*, as well as in his *École des Maris*, as has often been remarked by Frenchmen. (Vide Eschenburg's translation, Zurich, 1789, 561. Compare, too, Valentine Schmidt's *Contributions*, 22, who considers Boccaccio's story, iii., 3, as Molière's original.) Therewith agrees also the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, Jun. 1777, p. 160. Besides, Lafontaine's *Maître en droit* is borrowed from our first story, and a comedy of the same substance and title has given great satisfaction on the French stage. (*Bib. des Romans*, Sept., 1777, p. 99.) In conclusion, we must notice the thirtieth story of Masuccio Salernitano, which comes even nearer to Boccaccio's. Compare Dunlop, ii., 371, who also derives an adventure in *Gil Blas* from our first story.

In our second tale, the revenge which the Student takes upon the ladies is the common property of almost all the Italian novelists. We meet with it in Giovanni Fiorentino, ii., 2, and in several others.

In the third story, Genobbia makes herself known to Nerino as Raimondo's wife, by a ring which she throws, as Nerino's present, into his drinking vessel. This is the manner in which almost all scenes of recognition are introduced in popular fictions. Compare the story of Amicus and

Amelius, and my translation of "Poor Henry," published at Berlin in 1830.¹

¹ All criticisms hitherto published on the plot of this play are extremely unsatisfactory, and it is most probable its origin is yet to be found in some still older drama, no doubt a very slight and imperfect work, but still containing the germ of some of the incidents employed by Shakespeare. We are so accustomed to trace the great dramatist to obscure and base originals, it scarcely occurs to us to imagine any of the stories of his dramas were invented by himself. But it is not unlikely that the main part of the "Merry Wives" is in every respect his own invention; and, should the real source of any portion be discovered, it will be found to be extremely trivial and slight in the suggestions it has furnished. I am, however, almost inclined to believe with Farmer that the translation of Straparola's tale, in "Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie," 1590, furnished the idea of Falstaff's love adventures; and in the notes to my reprint of that translation, in the work quoted at p. 76, I have noticed several identities of expression which appear to confirm this opinion.—ED.

VIII. THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

Here it is necessary, for the object we have in view, to divide the play into three separate plots:

1. The prelude and interlude, or the induction.
2. The episode of Bianca and Lucentio.
3. The main action which the title of the piece indicates.

All three of these are found in the old piece which Shakespeare is supposed to have worked from. (Compare the *Six Old Plays, &c.*, i., 159.) Probably, however, this play also is of his invention.¹ Those of our readers who cannot admit this, and yet consider the older piece as Shakespeare's original, may apply our remarks to the author of this piece.

1. We have thought it better not to admit into the text the probable original of the Induction, partly because we

¹ This opinion will not receive the assent of English readers. The crudity of the original "Taming of a Shrew" sufficiently shows it was not in any respect the work of our great dramatist. An American correspondent in Knight's *Shakespeare* has pointed out some similarities in this play to passages in the works of Marlowe; and the same argument has been followed by Mr. Hickson in some interesting papers in the "Notes and Queries," with the additional conjecture that Shakespeare's play was an anterior production, and the "Taming of a Shrew" imitated from it, and probably by Marlowe. The space limited to a foot-note prevents me from entering into this question; but Mr. Hickson must excuse my saying that his arguments may be interpreted by some as reasoning in a circle. There appears to me such a wonderful elaboration of the original in Shakespeare's play, that any imitator of it, however clumsy a worker, could have produced a much better play than the old "Taming of a Shrew." Mr. Dyce is confident, from the style, it was not written by Marlowe.—ED.

attribute to the story of Goulart, which has, so considered, no merit as a work of art; partly because it is still doubtful which of the infinite number of forms in which this story appears was most immediately present to the mind of Shakespeare. This last objection, it is true, holds good of the story which we have given for the main action of the piece; but, as it is not equally obnoxious to the first, its admission into the text seemed to us less objectionable.

Goulart relates, in his *Thésor d'histoires admirables et merveilleuses de notre temps*, under the head, *Vanité du monde magnifiquement représentée*, the following incident:—As Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, held his court at Bruges, he was going, one evening after dinner, through the streets of the city, in the company of some of his favourites, when he found an artisan very tipsy, lying his full length on the pavement, and in the deepest sleep. It pleased the prince to give, in the person of this artisan, an instance of the vanity of life, of which he had just been speaking with his attendants. To this end, he bade his attendants carry the sleeper to his palace, lay him in one of the most magnificent of the ducal beds, and put on him a splendid nightcap. His dirty shirt was taken off, and one of the finest linen put on in its stead. When the drunkard had slept over his debauch, and awaked, pages and chamberlains of the duke came to his bedside, drew the curtains, made several deep bows, and asked, with uncovered heads, whether it would please him to rise, and what clothes he would put on; and herewith they presented to him several costly dresses. The new-made duke, who was much astonished at all these civilities, and knew not whether he was awake or dreaming, suffered himself to be dressed and taken out of the chamber. Here he was respectfully received and welcomed by several gentlemen of rank, and taken to mass, where, amidst great ceremonies, they reached him the book to kiss, as they were accustomed to do to the duke himself. After mass was over, they led

him back to the palace, gave him water to wash his hands, and set him at a richly spread table. When this was taken away, the grand chamberlain made them bring cards and a considerable sum of money. After this, they took him to the garden, then to coursing and hawking, and at last back to the palace to a splendid supper. By the light of tapers, the instruments struck up a concert; and when the table was withdrawn, lords and ladies began to amuse themselves with dancing. After this *came the representation of a merry comedy*,¹ and a banquet, in which they offered the new-coined duke so much fine and luscious wine, confectionary, and comfits of all kinds, that he was soon overcome, and fell into the deepest sleep. At the command of the duke, he was stripped of all his rich clothes, dressed in his rags, and taken to the place where they had found him the day before. Here he spent the night; and when he woke in the morning, he remembered what had happened to him the day before, without knowing whether it had actually occurred, or whether a dream had turned his head. After many soliloquies, he decided that all had been a dream, and told it his wife, his children, and neighbours, without ever suspecting the truth of the story.

Goulart probably followed Heuterus, *De Rebus Burgundicis*, where this incident is related (in book iv.) from a letter of Ludovicus Vives, as having really happened. Ludovicus Vives professes to have heard it from the lips of an old officer of the Duke's court. But Goulart was first translated into English by Edward Grimstone in 1607, and Malone places Shakespeare's adaptation of the story as early as 1594. The

¹ "Accensis luminibus, inducta sunt musica instrumenta, puellæ atque nobiles adolescentes saltarunt, *exhibitæ sunt fabulæ*, dehinc comessatio quæ hilaritate atque invitationibus ad potandum producta est in multam noctam."—Heuterus, *Rerum Burgundicarum libri sex*, fol. Antv., 1584. The relations of Heuterus and Goulart are evidently derived from the same source.—ED.

same occurrence, however, is told immediately from Heuterus,¹ in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," of which the second edition, from which Percy quotes the passage in his *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, i., 238, appeared in 1624,² fol. *But here there is no mention of the merry comedy*, which was played before the self-supposed duke. As little does the old ballad of Percy, in the same part of the work, entitled "The frolicksome Duke, or the tinker's good fortune," make mention of this deciding circumstance, out of which the connexion of the prelude with the main piece appears to have flowed. The age, also, of this cannot be accurately settled. For those who are unwilling to believe the poet acquainted with the French language, the conjecture of Warton must be considered the most probable, that Shakespeare made use of an old English collection of merry stories, compiled by Richard Edwards, and printed as early as 1570;³ for this work contained the story in question.

The Duke of Burgundy can hardly have been the inventor of the jest which he perpetrated with the drunken artisan. It was suggested to him, as the author of the annotations to the *Thousand and One Nights* has already conjectured, (xiii., 261) by the ambassadors of the eastern prince, who had assigned to him the title of a grand duke of the West. Here he only followed the example of the Khalif Haroun Alrashid, who, according to the amusing story of the *Sleeper Awakened*, ("Thousand and One Nights") finding the latter

¹ I doubt this. Burton's account is professedly taken from Marco Polo, and varies considerably from the narrative of Heuterus.—ED.

² The first edition of this remarkable work was published at Oxford, in 1621, 4to.—ED.

³ No copy of this edition is now known to exist, though possibly buried in some private library; but what is very likely, a fragment of a later edition, fortunately containing the story referred to, has been lately recovered and printed in the *Papers of the Shakespeare Society*, vol. ii. It quite agrees with Warton's account.—ED.

sleeping, had him taken to his palace, and ordered that he should be honoured by his court for a whole day, as if he had been the Commander of the Faithful himself. Placed in his old condition by a new sleeping potion, he finds the commands which he had given as Khalif put in force; and his old mother seeks in vain to convince him that he has not been the sovereign. They take him as a maniac into a madhouse, where he is handled in the most cruel manner, till he relinquishes his supposed delusion. Scarcely is he set free, when he is anew bewitched; but this time he is speedily disenchanted, and repaid for the torments he has suffered, by the friendship of the Khalif and the hand of a favourite female slave of that prince.

In the "Thousand and One Days," (translated by Friedrich Hein von der Hagen, 1827, v., 64-163) the same episode occurs in the story of Xäilun the Bashful, not so circumstantially, but perhaps still more amusingly.

By a similar deceit it is said that Hassan, the old man of the mountain, founded the Kingdom of the Assassins. (Compare von Hammer's *Geschichte der Assassinen aus Morgenländischen quellen*—History of the Assassins, from Eastern sources, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1818.) He availed himself of the notions of the Mohammedans of a sensual Paradise, such as the Prophet has promised to his soldiers, flowing with milk and honey, where heavenly houris of unfading beauty and youth walk in an everlasting spring, and prepare by song and dance the highest enjoyments for the blessed heroes of the faith. According to the pattern of this paradise of the Prophet, Hassan laid out for himself a garden near the mountain fort of Alamut, and then gave the bravest and boldest youths to understand that he had power to make them participators of all the joys of paradise. When they exhibited a desire for these enjoyments, he administered a sleeping draught to them, and then had them conveyed into those brilliant gardens, where they found themselves, on waking, surrounded

by enchanting joys, and could not find time to recover from their astonishment at their splendour. Charming maidens enchanted them with song, dance, and caresses; and the taste of the most exquisite viands and wines heightened the intoxication of their senses, till they imagined themselves in Paradise, and wished never again to leave it. But after a while, a second draught tore them from all these joys; they found themselves hurled back into the sobriety of their former condition, where they pined away in longings, until Hassan prescribed to them the conditions on which the Prophet would often grant them these blessings. These consisted in unconditional submission to his will, in readiness to the most resolute devotion of life at every one of his signals; and so gathered Hassan his band of Fedavie (devoted), who by poison and dagger laid in terror the foundation of a kingdom. (*Vide* Leo's "Manual of the History of the Middle Ages," i., 369.)

There are some similar points, also, in the attempt of the tyrant Dionysius of Sicily with the flatterer Damocles, the sword over whose head embittered the enjoyment of the joys he had praised. But this should rather show misery in the midst of kingly splendour, than the vanity of human life. Steevens, however, finds the experiment of the tyrant so like that of the lord in Shakespeare, that he imagines some readers may believe that the poet owed this invention to Cicero's words (*Tusc. Disp.*, v., 21); and, in fact, the words printed in italics in Steevens' quotation¹ of the passage are found again in the mouth of the lord, when he tells the attendants how they are to behave to the drunkard when he awakes.

It need scarcely be hinted that Calderon's play, "Life a Dream," rests upon a similar idea; but Holberg's *Jeppe som Berge* stands nearer Shakespeare's representation; and Holberg, again, copied from Jacob Bidermann's *Utopia*. The

¹ Not by Steevens, but quoted by him from Bishop Hard's notes on the Epistle to Augustus. This is learned trifling.—ED.

author of this book, of which the third edition, Dilingæ, 1691, lies before us, was a learned Jesuit, who recommended himself by his erudition and the elegance of his Latin style. The fourth and fifth books of the *Utopia* are almost wholly filled with this story, which is here spun out to a great length. It is an addition peculiar to this form of the story, that the drunken peasant Menalcas, after a second draught has restored him to his original condition, is brought before the judge, and accused of the assumption of the royal dignity. He is also actually condemned in appearance, and the sentence of execution is in appearance also fulfilled upon him. This addition is also found again in Holberg. From this comedy it has again passed into a French melodrame, which we have seen under the title of "A Day in the Camp."

Our countryman, Christian Weise, availed himself of Goullart's story for his comedy of "The Dreaming Peasant," at the court of Philip the Good, in Burgundy. To this day, this matter has been preserved in several forms on the German stage. It is but a short while ago that the Theatre Royal in Berlin gave a version of the same story, under the title of "The Living Wine-Butt," which appears to rest on the story of a peasant who got intoxicated, and was in hell, and at the gates of Heaven, which forms the supplement to the popular story of the Cave of Xara. Travelling puppet-shows and the stationary theatres, which they call *Henneschen* on the Lower Rhine, represent the prelude in a way which almost seems to point out a connexion with the old English theatre; a connexion which may, without much absurdity, be assumed.

2. In the comedy itself, the episode of Lucentio and Bianca's love is taken from Ariosto's comedy, *I Suppositi*, which had been introduced on the English stage in 1566, according to George Gascoigne's translation. Shakspeare was never guilty of so great a plagiarism as when he took the

whole of this excellent piece into his own:¹ yet he has woven in much of his own superior invention, and contrived to make what he borrowed his own, by his connexion of it with his main subject.

3. As we have already said, we cannot be certain that the story we have given is really the source of the main action of the piece. Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, i., 345, thinks he has found the main features of the comedy in an old Spanish story called *El Conde Lucanor*, 4to., 1643, the author of which was Don Juan Manuel, the nephew of Ferdinand IV. of Castile. Unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain access to this scarce book, and therefore can only regret that Douce did not think it worth while to say more of its contents, and at the same time to determine the date of its first appearance; for if the date he has given be that of the first edition,² it cannot be the original used by Shakespeare. This was, according to Eschenburgh's supposition, an Italian story, which, however, he was unable to produce. We know none which has more connexion with the main subject than Straparola's second novel of the eighth night. And as Straparola's novels in general, not merely his popular fictions, have the merit suggested by the talented translator of the last, of an ancient epic formation, (compare Valentine Schmidt's *Popular Tales of Straparola*, from the Italian, with remarks, Berlin, 1817, Dunker and Humblot, and his contributions to the history of Romance Poetry, s. 26) and which is noticed also by the brothers Grimm, ("Juvenile

¹ This is said at random, a small portion only having been employed by Shakespeare. Mr. Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.*, iii., 7, calls the resemblance *fancied*; but he has judiciously changed this opinion, in his edition of Shakespeare, iii., 105.—ED.

² In any case, the probability that Shakespeare could have read this work is of the slightest kind. Douce merely casually refers to it in a manner that would lead us to suppose he did not consider it of much importance to the subject. It was first published in 1575.—ED.

and Domestic Stories, iii., 272) the present novel also is not his invention, but a common property of many times and nations. It is known even in the East, though we do not mean to deduce thence its Oriental origin. In *Kisseh Khun*, the Persian Story-teller, Berlin, Nicolai, 1829, a collection of Oriental stories from the "Sketches of Persia," the story of the Cat agrees nearest with our tale, after the fabliau entitled *La Dame qui fut écolière*. (Compare Dunlop, ii., 444.) The story is briefly as follows:—

Sadik Beg was so much distinguished by personal advantages, that he gained the hand of Husseinî, the proud daughter of the nabob. As usual in such unequal marriages, he was little more than her slave. His friends pitied his misfortune, but a diminutive fellow, named Merdek, who was completely under his wife's control, rejoiced to see another in the same condition as himself, and, with malicious joy, congratulated him on his wedding. Sadik accepts his congratulations, and assures him that he really finds himself very happy. When Merdek doubts it, Sadik relates to him how he had behaved to his wife, just after the wedding. "I went, with my sword at my side, to the apartment of Husseinî, who received me in a majestic posture. As I stepped forward, a beautiful cat, clearly a great favourite, came purring to meet me. I quietly drew my sword, cut off her head, and, taking that in one hand and the body in the other, threw them both out of the window. I then turned, without any confusion, to my wife, who seemed somewhat discomposed: she made not, however, the least remark, but has shown herself up to this day an exceedingly kind and obedient wife." Merdek received this as a lesson for himself, and resolved to attempt a similar line of conduct with his Xantippe. He also killed the cat in the same manner; but, as he was going to take it up, he was struck to the ground by a hearty box on the ear from the hand of his enraged partner. Some time afterwards, Merdek's wife learned whose example the poor little man had

been trying to imitate. "There!" said she, "thou wretched fellow!" giving him another box on the ear; "thou shouldst have killed the cat on the wedding day!"

In the old German poem of the Mole (Lassberg's *Liedersaal*, ii., 499), with which is connected the Scolding Wife (L. S., i., 295), we meet with the main points of our story, together with others which we recognise in the play. "A Knight had an evil wife, whom he could not govern; and she brought up a daughter with a similar temper, who soon frightened away all her lovers. At last, however, a young Knight ventured to demand her hand. The father concealed from him none of her evil qualities; but he persisted in his wish to take her home as his wife. On her departure, her mother instructs her how she shall behave to her husband, and threatens her with her curse, if she does not behave as she herself had to her father. The bridegroom mounts his horse, and takes up his bride behind him. He leads a beautiful hound by a thong, and carries a noble falcon on his fist. In this guise he rides unattended, through by-ways, in order not to meet any one. Before long, the falcon wishes to fly after a bird; at first, the Knight warns her; but, on her making a second attempt, he crushes her scull, saying—'So must all suffer who obey not my will.' Soon after, he finds an opportunity to do the same to the dog, and afterwards to the horse on which they are riding. He now proposes to the bride that she shall suffer herself to be saddled, in order that he may ride upon her, because he is unaccustomed to going on foot. She agrees to this in fear, and carries the Knight fully half a mile; she then gives him the sweetest words, and promises to obey his will through her whole life. Then he bids her stand up, takes her by the hand kindly, and leads her to his castle, hard by, where his friends are waiting for her, and she is installed in all the rights of a wife. Thus a good wife was made from a bad bride. When the wicked mother sees her meekness, she scolds and beats her daughter;

but the father begs his son-in-law to counsel him how he also may tame his wife: then the son-in-law takes to him four servants, and explains to her that she has four ‘anger-moles’ on her loins, and that when these are cut out, she will soon be one of the best of wives. One of these, in fact, is really cut out; then she promises amendment, and begs him to leave her the others, which are very little ones, and do not hurt her much. This is granted her, but with the reservation, that they are also to be extirpated if her complaint shows itself again. She now becomes a modest, quiet wife; and if, ever after, she spoke a word which displeased her husband, he needed only to remind her of the ‘moles,’ to bring her to quietness.” At the end follows the counsel—

“ Let him who hath an evil wife
Full shortly rid him of her strife.
Upon a snow-sledge he shall heave her—
Her blessing be an ague fever—
Then buy a rope, and on a tree
Hang her with wolves some two or three—
No living man hath ever seen
A baser gallows-load, I ween;
Unless, to make its load more evil,
They hang thereto the horned devil.”

Some features in this poem come nearer to Shakespeare’s representation than our novel. For example, the Knight with his bride travels by by-ways, in order not to meet any one, and takes her home before the discipline of her subjugation is completed. On the other hand, the contrast of the two sisters is so important a point in Straparola’s treatment of the story, that it is probable the poet had a third representation before him, combining the *novella* and the old German poem.

Among the German stories in Grimm, that of King Drosselbart (i., 52) treats on this subject. “ A King’s daughter

was wonderfully beautiful, but so proud, that no wooer was good enough for her. One was too fat—‘the hogshead!’ said she.¹ Another too thin: ‘long and small, can’t go at all.’ The third too short: ‘Short and fat; no skill in that.’ At last she was brought to reason by King Drosselbart (Thrush-beard), a name which she had given him, because he had a chin like the beak of a thrush, from poverty and privation. (Compare in the *Pentamerone* of Basile, iv., 10 (40), *La Superbia Castegata*.) Here, however, is already the passage into the story of Grisel.

Our story is also the source of Hans Sachs’ Christmas-piece, “The bad Smoke,” reprinted in Tieck’s “German Theatre,” i., 19-28. Here, however, the battle for the breeches and the rule of the house actually takes place, and the wife has the best of it. The husband not only leaves her in undisturbed possession of them, but also girds her with a knife and pockets.

Straparola, also, inculcates the instruction here given for the taming of bad wives, namely, in the story, xii., 3 (Compare Valentine Schmidt’s *Märchen Saal*, s. 188, with the remarks):—“A man who understands the speech of beasts laughs when he hears a mare speaking with her foal. The wife desires to know why he laughs; but he will not tell her, because this would be the cause of his death. She persists in her request, however, and threatens to hang herself, if it is not complied with. Then the husband promises to do it; but she must wait till he has made his will. In the mean time, he hears the house-dog lecturing the cock on his mirth, at a time when he should be in grief for the death of his master. But the cock answers, that the master is in fault, and the cause of his own misfortune; for, according to Aristotle, in the first book of his Politics, the man should be the head of the wife. He himself (the cock) has a hundred wives, and

¹ There is a similarity here to the account given of Beatrice, in “Much Ado about Nothing,” iii., 1.—ED.

knows how to keep them all in awe and subject to him; he chastises one and then the other, and does not spare now and then a stout blow: but the master, who has only one wife, cannot govern her," &c.

This story, too, is known in the East; for it is found in the Arabian Nights (i., 23), so similar in every respect, that we must assume, with Valentine Schmidt, an external connexion, without, however, insisting on its Oriental origin, which we should not be too hasty in doing.¹ The same means are recommended in innumerable jests and stories; and we intend, at a future period, to quote the second novel of the fifth book of Giovanni as one of the best.

We have yet to speak of the kindred German play, which Eschenburg has discovered in Gottsched's collection of German dramas. It bears the title, "An art above all arts to make a bad wife good. Formerly practised by an Italian cavalier, and now fortunately imitated by a German nobleman, and represented in a very merry comedy." It agrees with Shakespeare's play so accurately, that Eschenburg is convinced that either the two writers must accurately have copied one original, or the German author taken Shakespeare's piece for the foundation of his own. Eschenburg is disposed to decide on the latter supposition; but the profession of the German composer, that his work is of Italian origin, leads him astray; for he understands this as if an old Italian comedy had been extant, of which both the English and the German play were free imitations and verbal transla-

¹ A similar story is found in Sanscrit, but with so much more simplicity, that it would appear to be earlier in that language than in Arabic. In the Indian story, the human personages are a Rajah and his bride; and the former laughs on hearing a dialogue between the rear and van of an army of white ants; the rear inquire why the march is stopped; to which the latter answer that a Rajah's bridal procession is in their way. "Take the shaft of the palanquin, and toss it out of our way," says the impatient speaker behind. "No," replied the other; "that would be a sin; for the persons of a bride and bridegroom are sacred."

tions. But this very concluding notice of the German composer leaves no doubt that he guessed at the Italian origin of this piece, delivered to him by the German comedians, only by the Italian names, which he has changed for German ones. Probably his original was the piece mentioned in Gottsched's "Necessary Provision for the History of German Dramatic Poetry," entitled, "The strange wedding of Petruvio with the shrew Catherine," in which he cannot have altered much more than the names. Both pieces show how early Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew" was domesticated on the German stage.

IX. ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

Painter's *Giletta of Narbon*,¹ in his "*Palace of Pleasure*," 4to., 1566, i., 88, a translation of the novel of Boccace, is regarded as the most immediate source of Shakespeare's play. This tale had been previously made use of for a comedy; namely, by the Italian B. Accolti, in his *Virginia*, which was in print as early as 1513. Perhaps a translation of this play had been brought out upon the English stage, and had given the poet the hint for this theme. Farmer's conjecture that "*All's Well that Ends Well*" was once called "*Love's Labour Won*," is very probable; and an old writer ascribes a piece of that name to Shakespeare.

According to Valentine Schmidt's conjecture, (*Contributions*, s. 26) Shakespeare borrowed from the old French or Provençal; but no such source has yet been shown. Straparola's *novella* vii. is connected with it, but other tokens are

¹ Reprinted in the second volume of Mr. Collier's *Shakespeare's Library*, 1843. The novel is entitled, "*Giletta, a phisician's daughter of Narbon, healed the Frenche kyng of a fistula, for reward wherof she demaunded Beltramo, counte of Rossiglione, to husbande. The counte beyng married againste his will, for despite fled to Florence, and loved another. Giletta, his wife, by pollicie founde meanes to lye with her husbande in place of his lover, and was begotten with child of two soonnes; whiche, knowen to her husbande, he received her againe, and afterwarde he lived in greate honor and felicitie.*" This is the mere outline of a plot Shakespeare has so admirably adopted, clothed, and made his own. The *Virginia* of Accolti I know only through the medium of Dunlop, ii., 271, who gives an extract from the argument prefixed to it, from which it appears that it is taken, with very little variation, from Boccaccio.—ED.

there mentioned, instead of the ring. Dunlop's dogmatic decision on our *novella* is as devoid of taste, as the opinion of Johnson, combated by Schlegel, upon Shakespeare's play. Dunlop finds the conditions made by Beltram out of taste, though they contain, as it subsequently appears, every thing which can serve to remove his objection to the marriage.

In our sixth chapter we have treated of the family of stories to which this novel belongs, and compared many tales connected with it. The idea which connects all these—the triumph of female fidelity and submission over the cruelty of man—is here, however, more closely defined by the singular manner in which the victory is decided. Whilst, in other stories of this kind, the cruelty of the men appears from the beginning as a subject of blame, Beltram, on the contrary, has full right to dislike a wife whom an external power has forced upon him, and who neither was, nor, according to his idea, could be, the wife of his choice. The last consideration is overcome by Giletta in part only when she gains the love of his subjects to such a degree, that they blame the Count for his harshness towards his wife; and the last remains in full force, and can only be removed by the fulfilment of the required conditions. These, however, are not arbitrary, but serve to supply all that is wanting in the person of Giletta. The Count, indeed, has married her, but against his will, and only at the command of the King, to whom he has declared that external force may give his hand, but not his heart, and that he himself will never be contented with his marriage. But if Giletta possessed the ring to which the Count attached so much importance, he would have united himself to her of free will and of his own choice; for the ring which a man presents to a maid can only be understood as a vow and pledge of truth. In this manner, the demand of free choice, to which the Count is entitled, would have been satisfied, and one might imagine that he would have carried this request no further. Notwithstanding the obstinacy aroused by forcing

upon him a bride whom he did not wish, still his pride of nobility would not have been satisfied; and perhaps the hereditary prejudices of his station would even have released him from the vow made by this gift of the ring to a woman of birth so inferior to his own. For this reason, the second condition is necessary—that Giletta shall not only bear the ring on her finger, but have a child by him, if she hopes to conquer his aversion. He would then be obliged, for the child's sake, to overlook all respects; for the child is another self, his flesh and blood, as it is that of the mother with whom it is to reconcile him, and to serve as a mediator. This sentiment is beautifully expressed by Sacontala, who belongs to the same family, in the *Mahabharat* (Fr. Schlegel's Works, ix., 299 *et seq.*)—

“Garments of silk, and woman, and waves of swelling ocean,
Are not so soft to the touch as the touch of a babe's embraces.
Thus art thou soothed here by this child with his glances of fondness;
Earth has no sweeter joy than the touch of a baby's caresses.
Born of thy body is he, flesh of thy flesh begotten—
See him, a second self, like a face in the fountain mirrored.
As from the fire of the hearth they take the fire for the altar,
So is he of thyself a part, but thyself undiminished.
Oft as the spouse to his spouse approacheth, himself is renascent
Of her who becometh a mother through him, as the sages have spoken.”

Beltram's pride of nobility is compelled to give way to the irresistible charm of the child for the father, who sees himself born again in him: for the voice of Nature silences all considerations of rank and prejudice. We even overlook the circumstance that Giletta has gained the ring in a manner which makes it no longer a pledge of promised fidelity and conjugal love, for the promise was not made to her; and it was unnecessary for Boccaccio to give Beltram two children from Giletta instead of one.

We might suspect a nearer connexion of the story of Sacontala with that of Giletta, inasmuch as in the former the

ring and the child also occur, with the same meaning and operation: but the present state of our knowledge of the story of *Sacontala* does not allow this conjecture to be confirmed. We are acquainted with the story in two forms, differing considerably from each other. In the episode of the *Mahabharat*, of which we have just quoted a fragment, the ring does not occur; and it is not clear, from the fragment given by Schlegel, why Dushmanta at first rejects and denies Sacontala, until at last the recognition and reconciliation with the rejected follows that speech of hers. Perhaps, as Schlegel remarks, it was done to try her; probably because Dushmanta feared that suspicion of the child's legitimacy might arise, if he so easily consented to the recognition. In the drama of *Kalidas*, which will be known to our readers from the translation of G. Forster, Sacontala, after marrying Dushmanta, according to the form Gandharva, that is to say, by mutual agreement, without any other marriage ceremony, in her grief at the departure of her husband, has not noticed the angry saint, Durvasas, who enters her house as a guest; and for a punishment of this violation of hospitality, she is cursed by him:—

“ He of whom thou ponderest,
On whom thy heart with such a worship hangs,
While the pure jewel of a true devotion
Asks a guest's sacred rights, and asks in vain —
He shall forget thee at your future meeting,
Even as the sobered reveller forgets
The senseless words his nightly wassail spake.”

But he softens this curse by the addition that the enchantment shall disappear when her husband sees his ring again. This had been given her by Dushmanta, as a pledge of his truth, when she asked him, at their parting, “How long will my lord remember me?” but Sacontala has lost it; and when she is brought pregnant into the palace of the King, to be put in possession of her rights as a wife, she cannot overcome

the enchantment which clouds the memory of Dushmanta. She is therefore driven out of doors, but is led by her mother, the nymph Menaca, to the Palace of Aditi. The ring, which a fish had swallowed, is brought by a fisherman to Dushmanta, who at the sight of it remembers Sacontala and his vow. Here, therefore, the ring has the same signification as in the story; it is, indeed, a *decisive* ring, (it is called the *fatal* ring, in the English translation) but no enchanted ring, though it destroys an enchantment. The King has given it to Sacontala, as a pledge that he will not forget her; and this purpose it fully answers. Still it appears magical in its effects; and it does not, therefore, stand in the way of those who would consider a connexion between this and the *novella*, that in Boccaccio the ring of Beltram, according to his representation, possesses magical properties. It is worth while here to compare the story in Grimm, i. 365, and what is hereafter said of it. In *Kalidas*, Dushmanta finds Sacontala, after a long and vain search, in Aditi's palace, having before met with that son, as a young hero whom he had begotten of her immediately after their marriage. Thus the child does not appear, in *Kalidas*, in the same form as in our *novella*, and, as we have seen, in the *Mahabharat*; he does not cause the father to recognise his mother, but only makes known to him the discovery of the desired lost one. If, however, we might connect the two forms of the *Sacontala*, or assume, as is very probable, that, in its original form, the ring appeared in the same signification as in *Kalidas*, and the child in that of the *Mahabharat*, it would be impossible to doubt the identity of this story with that of *Gilette*.

X. MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Mrs. Lennox, in her "Shakspeare Illustrated," has translated an episode in the fifth book of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*,¹ as the probable source of this piece; but Farmer and Steevens have already remarked that the *novella* of Bandello is more similar to Shakespeare's story. In Ariosto is found only the first part of Hero's history, her false accusation: her apparent death, and final resuscitation, in which she is introduced to her former bridegroom as a relation of his first bride, and is

¹ This tale was translated into English as early as 1565, by Peter Beverley: "Historie of Ariodanto and Jeneura, Daughter to the King of Scottes, in English verse," 16mo. Printed by Thomas East, n.d. The date of 1565 is taken from the Stationers' Registers. See Collier's Extracts, i., 140. It commences as follows:—

" Amongst the vanquisht regions
That worthy Brute did winne,
There is a soyle, in these our dayes,
With ocean seas cloasde in,
That fertile is, and peopled well,
And stor'd with pleasant fieldes,
And hath for tillage lucky land,
That yearly profit yieldes."

It is of extreme rarity, and a copy was sold, at the sale of the Gordonstoun collection, for £31 10s. Mr. Collier mentions that a "History of Ariodante and Geneuora" was played before Queen Elizabeth, by Mulcaster's children, in 1582-3. This is an extremely curious fact, and gives ground for a conjecture that the incidents of Shakespeare's play had been thus early employed in the English drama. According to Skottowe, the principal incident may be traced to a period as early as the date of the Spanish romance, "Tirant the White," composed in the dialect of Catalonia, about the year 1400.—ED.

married to him, are the invention of Bandello. Shakespeare, nevertheless, may have known Ariosto's representation of this first part of the story, since, in his piece, as in Ariosto, the chambermaid plays the part of her mistress at the window, a circumstance which does not occur in Bandello. This variation he might, however, have invented himself, or borrowed from an imitation of Ariosto's story, in Spenser's "Fairy Queen" (book ii., ch. 4). If Shakespeare could not read Ariosto in the original, it was accessible to him in the translation by Harrington, published as early as 1591; or, indeed, he might have become acquainted with this very episode from a separate poetical translation by George Turbervile,¹ which appeared a few years earlier.

As Dunlop conjectures (ii., 456), Ariosto, whom Bandello has perhaps copied, may himself have borrowed from the chivalric romance of "Tyran le Blanc," where the substance of the first part of our novel occurs for the first time. It is not requisite to give an extract from the splendid episode of Ariosto, since Eschenberg has already done so, and the *Orlando Furioso* is in every body's hands, by the translation of Gries and Streckfuss. The ninth *novella* in the introduction to Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* also represents a similar deceit as is here practised upon Fenicie; but there it is contrived by a servant-maid, who has fallen in love with her master, against her mistress.

According to the assumption of English critics, the *novella* of Bandello was known to Shakespeare by the translation in Belleforest's "Tragic Stories" (Lyons, 1594, 12mo., vol. iii.) It is one of the best productions of this novelist; and Shakespeare has kept very close to it, in the first part of his play: the comic portion, the loves of Benedict and Beatrice, appears to be entirely his own invention.

The content of this *novella*, as a popular story, is very

¹ This translation does not appear to be extant. The information is given on the authority of Harrington.—ED.

little; but, if we assume an epic substratum, it belongs, according to the idea, to the cycle of which we have spoken at large in our ninth chapter.

The story has also been made use of by our countryman Ayler, a contemporary of Shakespeare, for one of his best pieces, his drama of the "Beautiful Phœnicia," which keeps very close to the story. Tieck ("German Theatre," i., 22) conjectures that Jacob Ayler made use of an older English play, which was also Shakespeare's model.

XI. THE WINTER'S TALE.

“The Pleasant History of Dorastus and Fawnia,” by Robert Greene, was published in 1588.¹ This date, which Dr. Farmer has found upon an impression of this story, decides against the long current assumption, that it had its origin in the play. A comparison with the latter shows that Shakespeare has altered all the names, with the exception of the scene, Bohemia; and this of itself leads to the suspicion that he did not retain it without a cause. The pedantry of certain English critics is ridiculous, who value themselves far too much on their geographical knowledge, according to which Bohemia does not on any side reach the sea;² and who are so seriously alarmed by this preservation of the name. Had Shakespeare taken Bohemia for a country on the coast, this error would certainly have been canvassed at the representation of the piece; for there were doubtless people even then

¹ This edition is entitled, “Pandosto, the Triumph of Time,” and is reprinted in Mr. Collier’s Shakespeare’s Library, vol. i. The later editions appear under the title, “The Pleasant Historie of Dorastus and Faunia.” It has sustained its popularity as a chap-book to the present century.—ED.

² The well-known error of geography here alluded to is, of course, to be ascribed to the original novel. M. Simrock bandies words with English critics, but some of the latter would smile at the idea of Shakespeare voluntarily falling into a geographical error with the object here ascribed to him. Greene was the author of the blunder; and without any insult to the extent of knowledge on such matters possessed by the poet, we may assume the possibility of his presuming that some of the dependencies or provinces of Bohemia reached to the coast.—ED.

who would gladly have exhibited their cheap wisdom in criticising the poet. If, for instance, he had written Bithynia instead of Bohemia, as some one has proposed to read, the whole mischief would have been avoided; but, as he has neglected this, he must have had an object in doing so, and this is our conjecture. We think that this error rather suited the fabulous nature of the story, which runs into the region of fable and the age of poesy, better than the most accurate geographical definition. The same may be said of the so-called anachronisms in this play.

The most remarkable alteration made by Shakespeare, the preservation of Bellaria (Hermione), who in the story actually dies, reminds us of the preservation and subsequent discovery of Lucina, in "Apollonius of Tyre," which Shakespeare had previously made use of, in his "Pericles of Tyre." Shakespeare has also invented some persons of the play; for example, Antigonus, Paulina, and Autolycus. According to the Greek mythology, Autolycus was, as is well known, a son of Hermes and Chione, or Philonis. When Warburton pretends that the whole speech of Autolycus, on his first appearance, is taken from Lucian's book on astrology, where Autolycus speaks much more in the same style, he must have been dreaming. In this book, (it is by no means certain that it is rightly assigned to Lucian) the myth that Autolycus is a son of Hermes is explained thus: that the art of stealing came to him from Hermes, under whose star he was born; and, at most, the passage in Shakespeare contains only an allusion to this. Douce, in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," has already noticed this, and referred to Ovid's "Metamorphoses," xi., 291-345.

Greene's story is a mixture of popular stories and pastorals, in the ornate taste of his time, which had become the fashion by John Lyly's "Euphues," and Thomas Lodge's "Rosalind, or Euphues' Golden Legacy." With respect to

the latter work, the source of Shakespeare's "As You Like It," see the seventeenth chapter.

Our story has no epic foundation, but some popular traits of popular fiction; for example, the exposure of the child, and its preservation, are interwoven. The whole appears to be Greene's invention; and this circumstance dispenses with the necessity of further references.

XII., XIII. TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA; AND WHAT YOU WILL.

We class these two pieces together, because the novel of Bandello, which Shakespeare followed in "What You Will," furnished the Spanish writer, Montemayor, with the materials for an episode of his *Diana* which again has been used by Shakespeare, in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona;" thus Bandello's story may be considered as the foundation of the two plays of Shakespeare.

Bandello's tales were extant in 1554. Montemayor's "Diana," therefore, which was printed in 1560 in seven books, may have been indebted to the Italian novelist. That this is the case, and how it has happened, the reader will see by comparing the tale of *Felismena* with the story of Bandello. It seems to have been the first intention of Montemayor to follow his original more closely than he eventually did; at least, the introduction of the story of *Felismena* shows us that her twin brother, whose name is not mentioned, was to have answered the unfortunate passion of Celia for Felismena, disguised under the name of Valerio; as Paolo, in Bandello, indemnifies Catella. It is true that Montemayor (p. 149) lets Celia die of despair at the coldness of the page, but probably he had here another novel of Bandello's in his mind (compare X., "Much Ado about Nothing"), and meant that she should be restored, as Fenicie is, and then be married to Felismena's twin brother. Montemayor does not, indeed, mention the likeness of the twins, but probably he had reasons for not indicating this too soon; besides, in twins such a likeness is tacitly supposed. Montemayor's "Diana" was

continued, first by Alonso Perez, a physician of **Salamanca** (1564), and then by Gil Polo (1574), to which latter **Cervantes** allows even higher praise than to Montemayor himself. Neither of these continuators, however, has taken up the intention of Montemayor. **Celia** dies in reality, and **Felismena's** brother does not fulfil the purpose for which Montemayor appears to have introduced him.

If the untimely death of Montemayor has withheld from his readers an important portion of the invention of **Bandello**, **Shakespeare** (who could hardly have made use of the translation of Montemayor, which did not appear till 1598, and even **Malone** places the "**Two Gentlemen of Verona**" in 1595) went still further in this play;¹ for though he gives from Montemayor's episode the history of **Felismena** (**Julia**), from the letter of **Don Felis** (**Proteus**) and her quarrel with the chambermaid, to the infidelity of **Felis** (whom **Felismena** serves disguised as a page, and courts another woman for her lover and master); yet he suppresses still more of the relation of **Bandello**, since **Silvia** (**Celia**, **Catella**), whose heart is already occupied by **Valentine**, does not fall in love with the page. But it is precisely the portion of the story here suppressed which makes the main incident of his later "**What You Will**;" whilst in this latter the first part of **Bandello's** tale is wanting, inasmuch as we learn nothing of the earlier love of the Duke for **Viola**. In reply to the censure, in itself unjust, which English critics bestow on **Shakespeare** for this omission, it should be remembered that it was necessary to avoid a repetition of the same incident.

1. In the "**Two Gentlemen of Verona**," **Shakespeare** has contrived very artfully to connect the episode of Montemayor with an action perfectly distinct from it; **Proteus**, while he is faithless to his beloved, also practising treason against his

¹ The similarities between the English translation of Montemayor and the "**Two Gentlemen of Verona**" create a difficulty not readily explained. See my note at the end of this section, p. 112.—Ed.

friend. The relation of the two friends to one another and to Silvia; the fickleness of Proteus (indicated in his very name), who is false to his friend for the sake of an unreturned passion, in contrast with the noble fidelity of Valentine, who is willing to sacrifice his tenderly-returned love to the friend whose falsehood he has detected, form the main incident of this play,¹ to which the love of Julia to Proteus serves only as an episodical by-play. The source whence Shakespeare borrowed his principal incident was probably one of the numerous modifications of the friendship-story, which, in its German form, has always for its subject the collision of love with friendship. Which of these was present to his imagination we cannot decide, since the source of this part of his play is not yet discovered. Tieck ("German Theatre," i., 27) suspects it, without any very weighty grounds, in an older English play, of which an imitation, he says, has been preserved in an old German tragedy, "Julia and Hypolito." It is quite possible that Shakespeare may here have followed no distinct model, and may only have drawn upon his general knowledge of the poems and popular books belonging to this cycle of ideas, but still more upon his own imagination; the beginning of the play, however, where Valentine insists upon going to the court of the *Emperor* (it is true that he is afterwards always called the *Duke* of Milan), and there falls in love with the daughter of his lord, reminds us very distinctly of "Amicus and Amelius," one of the most celebrated friendship-stories, which perhaps was the foundation of the

¹ The tale of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" is evidently based on love and friendship, the latter being the predominating influence. I am at a loss to account for the supposed necessity of explaining away the last scene in a sense different from that adopted by M. Simrock; for although this incident does not appear like the poet's own invention, it merely points more decisively to the existence of an original tale not yet discovered; and in many old novels similar instances of perfect friendship may be found. The old English romance of "Amis and Amiloun" might have been known to Shakespeare.—ED.

tale made use of by Shakespeare. The part of the false Harderich, in whose place Thurio stands at first, is here carried out by Proteus, in whom, from this time, love triumphs over friendship; whilst Valentine ceases not to bear himself as a pattern for true friends. Tieck, in his second part of the poet's life (*Novellen Kranz*, for 1831), directed his attention especially to this play, when he makes the poet experience, with his friend Lord Southampton, something of the same painful nature which happens to Valentine with Proteus. It is very possible that Shakespeare may have represented his own experience in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona;" but the composition of this play falls into an earlier period than the incident with the Earl. How much, however, Shakespeare was familiar with the thoughts and feelings of friendship is shown by his noble "Merchant of Venice," which may be considered the most beautiful work that has ever been composed on the idea of that virtue.

Malone mentions, in a note to "What You Will," an eclogue of Barnaby Googe, which appeared in 1563, and conjectures that Shakespeare made use of it in this piece. This, however, is nothing more than a versified imitation of the episode of Montemayor,¹ as may be clearly seen from the verses :

" He had a page, Valerius named,
Whom so much he dyd truste," &c.;

for Felismena, as Don Felis' page, called herself Valerio. In "What You Will," however, Shakespeare kept closer to the story of Bandello.

As Steevens, and more recently Dunlop (iii., 219), have already remarked, those scenes of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" in which Valentine connects himself with robbers and becomes their leader had for their model a passage in

¹ This is put somewhat too strongly. The tale of Montemayor may possibly have suggested the eclogue, but it is clearly not a metrical imitation of it.—ED.

Sidney's "Arcadia," where a similar circumstance happens to Pyrocles. The resemblance, however, does not seem to us sufficiently striking¹ to induce us to separate from the context a second extract from this pastoral romance, which we had better reason to copy in "King Lear."

2. Shakespeare became acquainted with our *novella* of Bandello (ii., 36), according to the common opinion of his English commentators, from an English translation, now lost, of the seventh story in the fourth book of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques, extraites des œuvres du Bandel*; but the existence of such a translation cannot be shown. When Dunlop (ii., 464) suspects that Bandello has copied from Cinthio's eighth novel of the fifth decade, and adds (iii., 171) that Montemayor has used, along with our story of Bandello, that of Cinthio, it must be remarked, on the other hand, that Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, though written earlier than Bandello's novel, yet appeared later in print, and that in Montemayor's episodic relation of *Felismena* there appears not the slightest trace of an acquaintance with Cynthio's stories. Shakespeare, however, might easily have known and made use of them. The scene of this story, of which the *dénouement* rests also on the resemblance of two twins, is laid, like "What You Will," in Illyria, and commences with a shipwreck, in which a nobleman flying from Naples with his wife is separated from her, and both of them from their two children. Afterwards, the latter, who dress sometimes as women, sometimes as men, are the subjects of mistakes of identity similar to those in Bandello and Shakespeare. The shipwreck, in this introduction of Cinthio's story, justly seemed to Shakespeare a fitter and more poetic vehicle to introduce the separation of the brother and sister than the taking of Rome, in Bandello. But it is worthy of notice,

¹ The resemblance is, indeed, very slight; but there is in that work an encomium on solitude, which may be compared with Valentine's soliloquy in act v., sc. 4.—ED.

that in the "Comedy of Errors," an earlier piece imitated from Plautus, he has also introduced a shipwreck for the purpose of separating the twins from each other and from their parents. We have not, however, thought it worth while to quote Cinthio's story on account of this slight resemblance, as Shakespeare has followed Bandello in every other particular; only Antonio's mistake, when he requires from Viola the purse which he has given to Sebastian, offers a distant resemblance to a scene in Cinthio's story, when the Veloncese imagines he has discovered his fugitive foster-son in the disguised sister of the latter, and has her put in prison. With respect to Bandello's story, one is surprised at the laxity of Italian manners, which permitted such pictures to be drawn by a bishop; for such was Bandello from 1550. Setting this aside, the rich invention of the novel has great merit, though the representation is faulty, and the first long visit of the disguised Nicuola to the Signora Pippa is entirely purposeless.

It is impossible to deny entirely an epic foundation to the story, though it is not immediately visible. Not to mention the resemblance of the twins, Lattantio's forgetfulness of Nicuola is a genuine trait of popular fiction, recurring very frequently in tales and ballads: we need only mention "Sigurd and Dushmanta." In general, such forgetfulness in these stories is caused by a philtre, which is here wanting; but Montemayor introduces it with a reverse effect, Don Felis being cured of his passion for Celia, and given back to Felismena by means of a magic draught. The same draught may have a lethal operation in Montemayor, as Don Felis needs only to forget Celia in order to remember Felismena. The frequent use which is made in the "Diana" of this potion reminds us strongly of Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," where the juice of a flower dropped on the eyelids of a sleeper makes him enamoured of the first being that meets his eyes on waking, on which enchantment the whole mechanism of the play rests.

The resolution of Nicuola to enter the service of her faithless lover disguised as a page frequently occurs in tales, in close connexion with this forgetfulness. In the German story of the "Twelve Hunters" (Grimm, i., 365), the forgotten bride of the prince enters his service with twelve other maidens, disguised as hunters. "Now it happened that they were in the chase, and the news came that the King's bride was on her way. When the true bride heard that, she was in such grief that her heart almost broke, and she fell senseless upon the earth. The young King thought that something had happened to his favourite huntsman, ran to him, and would help him, and pulled his glove off. And then he saw the ring which he had given to his first bride, and, when he looked in her face, he recognised her." Just in the same manner Julia swoons, when the magnanimous Valentine offers himself to gain Sylvia for Proteus, in whose service she is. When she is asked what is the matter with her, she speaks of the ring which Proteus has commissioned her to give to Sylvia, but, instead of it, she shows that which Proteus had first presented to her. When Proteus sees this ring, he recognises her, is touched by her fidelity, and gives his heart to her again; so that this episode of the play ends very similar to that of the story. Shakespeare found this conclusion neither in Bandello nor in Montemayor, and it would have been very singular if he had invented the old conclusion without knowing the story. It is more probable that this story was known to him as well as to Bandello, and that, as the latter departed from it, the former returned to it. It would be more difficult to show the source of the trait in Bandello, where the new mistress of the faithless lover falls in love with the disguised bride of her admirer, and her disappointment is atoned for by the twin brother of the disguised maiden. In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Shakespeare omits this invention of Bandello; and hence it happens that the history of Proteus and Julia, in this play,

has a resemblance with the story, which is not unlikely to lead to an erroneous impression.

Note by the Editor.

The "Diana" of George of Montemayor was one of the books which had the rare merit of escaping the flames that consumed the greater portion of the library of Don Quixote. "I am of opinion we ought not to burn it, but only take out that part of it which treats of the magician Felicia and the enchanted water, as also all the longer poems, and let the work escape with its prose, and the honour of being the first in that kind." The "Diana" deserved the praise of Cervantes; and it appears to have been extremely popular in England during the later years of the sixteenth century. It was translated by Bartholomew Yonge somewhere about 1582 or 1583, by Thomas Wilson in 1595 or 1596, and parts of it were rendered into English by Edward Paston and the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney;¹ but Yonge's version was the only one published, and that did not appear till 1598, the year in which we first hear of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" in the pages of Meres.

The fact of the popularity of the "Diana" in England at this period is of considerable importance; for, although it would seem that Shakespeare could not have read the printed translation by Yonge before he composed the play, there are similarities between a story contained in the former and the drama too minute to be accidental. Mr. Collier says the incident common to the two is only such as might be found in other romances, and limits the resemblance to the assumption of male attire by the lady. But the most striking similitude is contained in the account of the incident of bringing the letter, and the waywardness of Julia; and I subjoin an extract from the "Dianna," which will exhibit even several of Shakespeare's own expressions, and prove that Mr. Collier's opinion is untenable:—

"When he had, therefore, by sundry signs, as by tilts and tourneys, and by prancing up and down upon his proud genet before my windows, made it manifest that he was in love with me—for at the first I did not so well perceive it—he determined in the end to write a letter unto me; and having practised divers times before with a maid of mine, and at length, with many gifts and fair promises, gotten her good will and furtherance,

¹ This fact, hitherto unnoticed, is obtained from the later editions of the "Arcadia."

he gave her the letter to deliver to me. But to see the means that Rosina made unto me—for so was she called—the dutiful services and unwonted circumstances before she did deliver it, the oaths that she swore unto me, and the subtle words and serious protestations she used, it was a pleasant thing, and worthy the noting. To whom, nevertheless, with an angry countenance I turned again, saying, If I had not regard of mine own estate, and what hereafter might be said, I would make this shameless face of thine be known ever after for a mark of an impudent and bold minion; but because it is the first time, let this suffice that I have said, and give thee warning to take heed of the second.

“Methinks I see now the crafty wench, how she held her peace, dissembling very cunningly the sorrow that she conceived by my angry answer, for she feigned a counterfeit smiling, saying, Jesus! mistress, I gave it you, because you might laugh at it, and not to move your patience with it in this sort; for if I had any thought that it would have provoked you to anger, I pray God he may show his wrath as great towards me as ever he did to the daughter of any mother. And with this she added many words more, as she could do well enough, to pacify the feigned anger and ill opinion that I had conceived of her, and taking her letter with her, she departed from me. This having passed thus, I began to imagine what might ensue thereof, and love, methought, did put a certain desire into my mind to see the letter, though modesty and shame forbade me to ask it of my maid, especially for the words that had passed between us, as you have heard. And so I continued all that day until night in variety of many thoughts; but when Rosina came to help me to bed, God knows how desirous I was to have her entreat me again to take the letter, but she would never speak unto me about it, nor (as it seemed) did so much as once think thereof. Yet to try if by giving her some occasion I might prevail, I said unto her: And is it so, Rosina, that Don Felix, without any regard to mine honour, dares write unto me? These are things, mistress, said she demurely to me again, that are commonly incident to love; whereof I beseech you pardon me, for if I had thought to have angered you with it, I would have first pulled out the balls of mine eyes. How cold my heart was at that blow, God knows, yet did I dissemble the matter, and suffer myself to remain that night only with my desire, and with occasion of little sleep. And so it was, indeed, for that, methought, was the longest and most painful night that ever I passed. But when, with a slower pace than I desired, the wished day was come, the discreet and subtle Rosina came into my chamber to

help me to make me ready, in doing whereof of purpose she let the letter closely (*secretly*) fall, which, when I perceived—What is that that fell down? said I; let me see it. It is nothing, mistress, said she. Come, come, let me see it, said I. What! move me not, or else tell me what it is. Good Lord, mistress, said she, why will you see it: it is the letter I would have given you yesterday. Nay, that it is not, said I: wherefore show it me, that I may see if you lie or no. I had no sooner said so, but she put it into my hands, saying, God never give me good if it be any other thing; and although I knew it well indeed, yet I said, What? this is not the same, for I know that well enough, but it is one of thy lover's letters: I will read it, to see in what need he standeth of thy favour."

It is by no means impossible that the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," as we now possess it, has received additions from its author's hands to what was perhaps originally a very meagre production. This conjecture would well agree with what we know to have been the dramatic usage of the time; and it seems difficult to account on any other supposition for the use Shakespeare has made of the tale of *Felismena*. The absolute origin of the entire plot has possibly to be discovered in some Italian novel. The error in the first folio of Padua for Milan, in act ii., sc. 5, has perhaps to be referred to some scene in the original tale.

Should the original novel, supposing one to exist, ever be discovered, it will probably be found to assimilate more to the ancient tales of perfect friendship than might be suspected from Shakespeare's play. In venturing upon this conjecture, I have been guided in a great measure by the romantic generosity of Valentine in the last act, which scarcely looks like a free result of the poet's own invention. It is quite true he might have found similar instances in several old friendship tales, but it seems more natural to suppose that he transferred it from the same source to which we are indebted for the play, than that the incident was introduced from another copy. That any editor can have a doubt as to Shakespeare's intention to represent Valentine's generosity so great, that, in the excess of his rapture for the repentance of Proteus, he gives up to him all his right in Silvia, would be improbable, had we not two late instances of attempts to explain the scene in a different manner; but any interpretation which destroys the literal meaning of Valentine's gift—

" And that my love may appear plain and free,
All that was mine in Silvia I give thee—

renders Julia's exclamation—"O me unhappy!"—which immediately follows, entirely unmeaning. Mr. Collier thinks Valentine suspected Silvia's purity from her position with Proteus in the forest, and is therefore giving his friend a present no longer desirable to himself; but, if this supposition were adopted, it would completely destroy the poetry and romance of Valentine's character.

XIV. PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE.

The English critics who either altogether deny Shakespeare's authorship of this piece, or attribute to him a very small portion of it, ascribe the great approbation¹ which it has received from its first introduction upon the English boards to the great interest of the story upon which it is founded: and this certainly not without reason; for even if we consider Shakespeare as the author, still it is one of his earliest and weakest works, and this immoderate approbation can hardly be otherwise explained. Even the fact that the poet kept so close to his original shows his respect for it, if only on account of its popularity.

The romance of "Apollonius" has been translated into all languages; and the great number of manuscripts, editions, and imitations of it, which are found among all nations, justify the opinion of its internal value.

The labours of such distinguished writers as Velser, Fabricius, Douce, and others, have not been successful hitherto in discovering the author of this romance, but all

¹ There scarcely appears to be sufficient authority for this assertion. The poems and epigrams in which the play is mentioned seem to be somewhat contradictory on this point. Mr. Knight has collected them in an interesting paper at the close of his edition of the play. The difficulty is to decide whether it is insinuated that the drama was not well received, or that it is a bad production of the author. Flecknoë's epigram would seem to imply that it met with success far beyond its merits; but this testimony, which is clearer than any of the others produced by the commentators, is the only one omitted by Mr. Knight.—Ed.

agree that it was written in the fifth or sixth century after Christ, and *in Greek*. Godfrey of Viterbo seems to have considered it as a portion of real history, for he relates it at full length, in his "Pantheon, or Universal Chronicle," as an event which happened under the rule of the third Antiochus. The form of the versified representation is curious; two rhyming hexameters are separated by a pentameter. The Latin prose versions appear to have been taken, partly from Godfrey's relation, partly from the Greek original: one of these is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*. Velser printed another without knowing this; and a third appeared in a separate form, without date or place, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. These three forms of the story differ from one another in words, not in incidents; but Eschenburg considers the first to be the model of the two others. An old German poem of *Apollonius von Tyrland*, by Heinrich von der Neuenstadt (at Vienna), was already extant in 1400; probably founded upon the story in the *Gesta Romanorum*: compare Hagen's and Büsching's Sketches, 206. The later variations in German prose, which were for a long time favourite popular books, appear to have been derived from Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon; at least, this source is assigned for the edition of Augsburg, printed in the year 1471, and that of Strasburg, small quarto, 1516 (according to Eschenburg's specimens, a very corrupt form of the story). That of 1556 in 12mo., of which we have made use, appears more correct. We have faithfully translated from it *Tharsien's lied*, evidently an old Meister leid, with its two parts (the aufgesang and abgesang—the aufgesang falls into two, the abgesang into three artificially rhymed stanzas), but we could do this only with the first strophe of the poem, as the second, singularly enough, proceeds with the story, which seems to confirm our supposition that an old Meister song has been interpolated. We considered ourselves under the necessity of taking greater liberty with the riddles, which

have not been so well handled in the popular form. There is a list of the MSS. and printed editions of this romance, in all languages, in Douce, ii., 140 *et seq.*

In England, the romance of "Apollonius of Tyre" was early treated both in prose and verse. Gower,¹ who is introduced in Shakespeare's "Pericles" as the relator, interwove it into his *Confessio Amantis*, which was completed as early as 1393. His authority, as he himself professes, is Godfrey of Viterbo. But Dr. Farmer possessed a fragment of an English poem on the same circumstance,² which, according to the writing and language, appeared to be older than Gower. In English prose, the romance of "Apollonius" was published by Wynkyn de Worde, as early as 1510, translated from the French by Robert Copland. In 1576, William Howe had a privilege for an edition of this popular romance, of which the translation of T. Twine,³ which appeared in 1607, by Valentine Sims, appears to have been only a reprint.

Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is considered as Shakespeare's immediate source, because this ancient poet is introduced speaking in Pericles. But from the notes of the English annotators, who produce frequent quotations from the popular books, we can see that the poet often departed from Gower's work, and followed the latter, where Gower is wanting.⁴ It

¹ The story in Gower has been judiciously included in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library.—ED.

² This extremely curious fragment was written by a priest of Wimborne Minster, co. Dorset. It has escaped the researches of Mr. Collier, but has been recently printed by the Editor of this work in a volume intended for private circulation.—ED.

³ Not Thomas Twine, but his brother, Lawrence Twine, as Mr. Collier has remarked. This romance has been reprinted in Collier's Shakespeare's Library.—ED.

⁴ Instead of the game at ball, by which Apollonius gains the favour of the King of Pentapolis, Shakespeare has a tournament; it cannot be shown that he owes this alteration to any model. It is doubtful whether there was not an English form of this romance, having the altered names, which was used by Shakespeare.

appears also, from these passages, that the English people's book agrees very nearly with the German one, and this justifies us in keeping more immediately to that and to the *Gesta Romanorum*. We should have made use of the last only, but that the story was best fitted for an antique and popular form, which Shakespeare has taken pains to give it by the introduction of "ancient Gower;" and we found this could be best preserved by keeping close to the German popular form. We conceived, also, that we ought to give the songs and riddles in rhyme, according to the popular work, and not in hexameters. We must be excused for a somewhat freer treatment of the story than we should have allowed ourselves elsewhere, having to reconcile two distinct models. In this necessary liberty, we confined ourselves to the form of the story, without arbitrarily altering any of the incidents.

Many traits of popular fiction occur in our romance, but it can hardly be thought to rest entirely on a popular fiction. The incestuous love of Antiochus for his daughter is derived also by the German book from the *Helena*, and from Straparola's kindred novel of the "Maiden in the Coffin." Compare Valentine Schmidt's *Märchensaal*, 115, with the remarks, 303, and the *Pentamerone*, ii., 6 (16). But here, that is to say, in the tale, this love has a motive; while in "Apollonius" it is entirely without foundation. The preservation of Lucina in the chest reminds us of that of Doralice in the coffin. The riddle, on the solution of which the possession of the princess is made to depend, is a trait which perpetually recurs. The stay of Tharsia in the house of the Pander returns in a similar form in many ecclesiastical legends; for example, in that of St. Agnes, and the fisherman who shares his coat with the shipwrecked Apollonius is St. Martin. For the rest, the adventures of Apollonius are very much in the manner of the Greek romance, where voyages and pirates act the chief part. Yet a poetical style and an alluring

invention are not to be denied to this poem, and certainly our readers will thank us for preserving it.

It has been already remarked, in Chapter XI., that the discovery of Lucina, as Priestess of Diana at Ephesus, was probably the model for the preservation of Hermione in the "Winter's Tale." But much more does the preservation and discovery of Emilia, the Abbess at Ephesus, in the "Comedy of Errors," remind us of Apollonius and Pericles; as, on the other side, the catastrophe of the "Comedy of Errors" has a great resemblance to the event of the novel of "Cinthio," mentioned in Chapter XIII.

XV. KING LEAR.

It is well known that there is an older tragedy on the subject of King Lear,¹ which Tieck has translated in his "Old English Theatre," vol. ii. The author of it has doubtlessly taken his materials from Holinshed, or his predecessor, Geoffrey of Monmouth. The episode of Gloucester and his sons, Edmund and Edgar, however, as the source of those who have given the adventure out of Sidney's "Arcadia," does not occur here, and the conclusion in the chronicle is much more scanty. Tieck ascribes this older piece, which is judged by the English much too depreciatingly, and still more unjustly by Voss, in the remarks to his translation, to Shakespeare. It is known that Tieck considers many other plays as works of Shakespeare's youth, and we trust he will not withhold the proofs. We consider his opinion with regard to this older King Lear, which has great beauties,² as less bold than many of his others.

The author of the older play has clearly not made use of the old ballad of "King Leir and his three daughters," given by Percy, and translated by Eschenberg; the newer piece, however, has several things in common with the ballad; for example, Lear's madness, Cordelia's death, &c., and thus arises

¹ Our author here refers, of course, to "The True Chronicle History of King Leir," 1605, reprinted by Steevens.—ED.

² The inability of German writers to appreciate the poetry of our old drama, however deeply they understand its philosophy, is nowhere so clearly exhibited as in their observations on such works as these. The old play may certainly be compared with advantage to its contemporaries, but very few English critics would discover the "great beauties" in it, which M. Simrock appears to have found.—ED.

the question, whether the author of the ballad copied from the play, or Shakespeare from the ballad. We decide for the first supposition, partly on account of the modern tone of this spiritless fabrication, partly because the poet, to whom the older piece, or at least Holinshed's Chronicle, was accessible, could find all the ideas determining the treatment of the subject in his own mind, which was not the case with the ballad-writer. That nothing is said in the ballad of the "Night-Storm" cannot prove Johnson's opinion that it is older than the play, for it is clear that the author of the ballad did not mean to give an extract from the play.¹ He meant, as the name Aganippus shows, to guide himself by the Chronicle, but could not keep himself free from the influence of the play.

Cordelia's words in Holinshed are singular:—"So much as you have, so much you are worth, and so much I love you, and no more." In Monmouth—

"Quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo."

The old ballad more clearly—

"My love shall be the duty of a child."

And in the older play—

"What love the child doth owe her father."

In Spenser's "Faerie Queene," where the story of Lear is related in few words, Cordelia says, that she loves her father as much as is becoming; and in the *Gesta Romanorum*, as much as he is worthy. The latter seems also to be the meaning in Monmouth and Holinshed.

The story takes another turn in the popular tale of the history of Ina, King of the West Saxons, which Camden relates (Remains, p. 306, ed. 1674). "This King had three

¹ The writer evidently copied Holinshed, but includes an incident not occurring in the pages of that historian, but found in the play.—ED.

daughters, to whom he once put the question if they loved him, and would always love him above all other things. The two elder answered this question with high and deep oaths; but the youngest and most prudent said to him, openly and without flattery, that she valued and honoured him as highly as nature and filial duty could command, and would do this as long as she lived, but that she believed a time must come when she must love another more tenderly than him. Hereby she understood her future husband, whom she was bound by God's command to follow, and to leave father, mother, and brothers, for his sake." This turn is not strange to Shakespeare.

"Why have my sisters husbands, if they say
They love you all? Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord, whose hand must take my plight, shall carry
Half my love with him, half my care and duty;
Sure, I shall never marry, like my sisters,
To love my father all."

Camden's book appeared shortly before 1605, when the second *Lear* was composed, and Malone hence believes that this story was in the poet's mind when writing Cordelia's answer. This can neither be affirmed nor denied; but yet one must allow to Shakespeare that he was quite capable of inventing this answer for himself. For the same reason, we cannot with Steevens assume that he borrowed the behaviour of Oswald from the "*Mirror of Magistrates*," 1587.

The English *Gesta Romanorum* contain (ch. 21.) a story belonging to this subject, which was probably the source of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, who decorated his fabulous Chronicle with those tales which pleased him. The *Gesta Romanorum*, it is true, were collected later than Monmouth wrote, or rather invented, but the story we are going to give is evidently older than the collection.

"Theodosius, a mighty Emperor of Rome, had three daughters, whom he once asked if they loved him. The eldest

said, More than myself; the second, As myself; the third, As much as you are worthy, and no more. Hereupon he married the first to a king, the second to a duke, and the third to a count. Now it happened that the Emperor fought a battle with the King of Egypt, and the King drove the Emperor out of his realm, so that he had not where to lay his head. In this necessity, he turned to his eldest daughter, and begged for help. She took counsel with the king, her husband, who was willing to come to his help with a great army. But the daughter thought it would be enough to send him five knights, who should keep him company in his banishment, and so it was done. When the Emperor heard of this, he was very melancholy, having set all his comfort on this eldest daughter, because she had said that she loved him better than herself. Now he turned to the second, who had said she loved him as herself, and begged her to help him. But she did nothing but send him meat and drink and befitting clothing. Then he resolved also to visit the third, begged her help, and told her how her sisters had treated him. Then this third daughter, who loved her father according to his worth, turned to her husband, and begged him to help her in this necessity, for that her father was driven from his kingdom and inheritance. 'And what shall I do therein?' said the Count. 'As quickly as possible gather a great army, and help him against his enemies,' answered the daughter. The Count did this, gained the victory, and set the king again in his ancestors' kingdom. Then said the king, 'Blessed be the hour which gave me this my youngest daughter. I loved her less than her sisters, and now has she helped me in my need, when the others forsook me; therefore, after my death, shall the kingdom also be her portion.' "

In the new King Lear, the behaviour of the two elder daughters, and their *liaison* with Edmund, remind us of the two daughters of Servius Tullius; of whom the good one was married to the wicked Tarquinius, and the wicked one

to the good brother, until the good husband and wife were removed, and the bad came together. This resemblance is most striking in the relation of Goneril to Albany. He is the good Tarquin who has married the wicked Tullia; but she wishes to remove him out of the way, not for the sake of the wicked husband of her sister, but for the more wicked Edmund. The relation of Livy may not have been unknown to the poet.

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XVI. MACBETH.

Shakespeare follows Holinshed, and that historian followed Hector Boethius. Buchanan, on the contrary, in his Scottish history (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia, Edimburgi*, 1528, fol. 60 *et seq.*), refuses to believe anything of the marvels and appearances which form the main part of the tale of Macbeth; but he cannot keep himself wholly clear of them. He turns the first appearance of the witches, and their prophetic greeting, into a nocturnal vision, which is afterwards fulfilled: the promised future greatness of the descendants of Banquo he considers as a report maliciously (*per maleficos*) spread abroad, which tempts Macbeth to have him murdered: the boughs which Malcolm's soldiers carried in their hands he considers as a sign of their joyful hope of conquering, by which, confidence being destroyed, Macbeth took to flight (*eâ perterritus hostium fiducia, Macbethus confestim in fugam se dedit*); all the rest of the miraculous he gives up entirely—*quia theatris aut Milesiis fabulis sunt aptiora quam historia.*

Malone has noticed that there is a hint, in these words of Buchanan, that the tale of Macbeth is adapted to theatrical representation. But he prudently adds, that in Shakespeare's time there was no translation of Buchanan's work in existence. Though we are not of his opinion that Shakespeare was ignorant of the Latin language, still we think he had no need of the opinion of Buchanan to find that this subject was poetic and dramatical. Farmer is still more inconsistent. He suspects that Shakespeare may have become acquainted with his subject matter, not improbably, from a

small piece, of similar tendency, which was played in 1605 before King James at Oxford (Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, according to Malone, was written in 1606). Wake, in his *Rex Platonicus*,¹ says: "The subject of the play was an old tale of the Scots of their royal house, according to which three Sibyls appeared on a certain time to the two Scottish nobles, *Macbeth* and *Banquo*, and prophecied to them that the former would be King, but beget no King; the latter would not be King, but beget many. That the event had fulfilled this prediction, since the glorious King James was sprung from *Banquo's* race." Further on, Farmer adds, that he has been reproached with ascribing to Shakespeare an acquaintance with the Latin language; for the above-mentioned interlude was performed before the King in that language.² But he perceives, from an old book by Anthony Nixon, 1605,

¹ "Fabulæ ansam dedit antiqua de Regia prosapia historiola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurrisse duobus Scotiæ proceribus, *Macbetho* et *Banchoni*, et illum prædixisse Regem futurum, sed Regem nullum geniturum, hunc Regem non futurum, sed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit; *Banchonis* enim è stirpe Potentissimus *Jacobus* oriundus. Tres adolescentes concinno Sibyllarum habitu induti, è Collegio prodeuntes, et carmina lepida alternatim canentes, Regi se tres esse illas Sibyllas profitentur, quæ *Banchoni* olim sobolis imperia prædixerant, jamque iterum comparere, ut eâdem vaticinii veritate prædicerent *Jacobo*, se jam et diu regem futurum Britanniciæ felicissimum et multorum Regum parentem, ut ex *Banchonis* stirpe nunquam sit hæres Britannico diademati defuturus. Deinde tribus Principibus suaves felicitatum triplicitates triplicatis carminum vicibus succincentes, veniamque precantes, quòd alumni sedium *Divi Johannis* (qui præcursor Christi) alumnos *Ædis Christi* (quo tum Rex tendebat) præcursoria hac salutatione antevertissent, Principes ingeniosa fictiuncula delectatos dimittunt; quos inde universa astantium multitudo, felici prædictionum successui suffragans votis precibusque ad portam usque civitatis Borealem prosequitur."—*Wake, ibid.* This work seems to have been popular. The fifth edition appeared at Oxford, in 1635.—ED.

² A more particular account of this interlude will be found, by the curious reader, in Gwynne's *Vertumnus*, 4to., 1607.—ED.

that this piece was played first before the King, in Latin, and afterwards before the Queen and the English princes, in English; and so all is explained. We mention this merely for our reader's amusement.

The story of Boethius can hardly be founded on history, but certainly it has a deep foundation in popular story. The gaps in the story have here, too, been clearly supplied from popular tales. Grimm, in his remarks on the story of the Fisherman and his Wife, has compared Lady Macbeth with the Etrurian Tanaquil, who, also, like Eva, incites her husband to aim at high things. In Livy's relation, this appearance is repeated in Tullia, the wife of the gentle Tarquin, of which we have spoken in our chapter on King Lear. The incident of the wood is found related in fiction in various other ways. There is a great coincidence in the story of King Grunewald, which Professor Schwarz has preserved in his Hessian *memorabilia* from the mouth of old people. "A King had an only daughter, who possessed *wonderful gifts*. Now, there came once his enemy, a King named Grunewald, and besieged him in his castle; and, as the siege lasted long, the daughter continually encouraged her father in the castle. This lasted till May-day. Then all at once the daughter saw the hostile army approaching with green boughs: then she was in fear and trouble; *for she knew that all was lost*, and said to her father—

'Father, give yourself for lost—

The greenwood's coming here.' "

Compare Grimm's German Tales, i., 148. Here the connexion with the story of Macbeth is not to be mistaken. The daughter plays the same part as the witches. She knows, by means of her miraculous gifts, that her father cannot be conquered till the greenwood comes up to them; and, as she considers this impossible, she inspires him with confidence; but, when the supposed impossible incident comes to pass, she advises him to surrender. On the other hand, no

prophecy appears to have preceded the artifice of Fredegrund, who hung bells on her horses, and ordered each of her warriors to take a twig in his hand, and so to march against the enemy; whereby the sentinels of the hostile camp were deceived, believing their horses were feeding in the neighbouring wood; until the Franks let their boughs fall, and the wood stood bare of leaves, but thick with the shafts of glancing spears. (Compare Grimm's "German Popular Stories," ii., 91.) It was merely a military stratagem; just as Malcolm, when he commanded his soldiers, on their march, to take boughs in their hands, had nothing else in his mind, for he knew not what had been prophesied to Macbeth.

The following passage from Joh. Weyer de Præstigiis, Frankfurt, 1586, p. 329, is remarkable:—"If any one wishes to give himself the appearance of having about a thousand men or horse round him, he must have a year-old willow bough cut off at one stroke, with certain conjurations, repetition of barbarous words, and rude characters." A single man might find some difficulty in giving himself, by the use of this vaunted recipe, the appearance of a whole host; but the inventor evidently founded his pretension upon a popular story, according to which a bold army had, by this artifice, concealed its weakness from an enemy superior in number. According to Holinshed, however, Malcolm's army was superior in number to that of Macbeth, and the concealment with the twigs was only put in practice, so that, when they were thrown away, the superiority of numbers being suddenly seen might create more terror.

We cannot find the second prediction, "that none of woman born should harm Macbeth," in any other popular story; but, on the other hand, many men and demigods occur, who, like Macduff, "were from their mother's womb untimely ripped." This always indicates power and heroic strength. Such a one was Volsung, Sigurd's ancestor. (*Volsungasaga*, cap. 3, 4.)

Shakespeare makes the ghost of the murdered Banquo appear at the banquet to which Macbeth had invited the living man. There is nothing of this in the tale of Macbeth; for, according to Holinshed, the murder does not take place till after the feast. Here, however, the poet has amended the single story in its own sense; for it is well known, according to popular fiction, that the dead keep their word, even beyond the grave, and expect that as much should be done for them, even when it is destructive to the living. We may instance Leonora and the Bride of Corinth. That Banquo appears visibly to Macbeth only is of no importance to the story. This trait in Shakespeare has considerable resemblance with Don Juan's invitation of the marble guest.

Note by the Editor.

The incident of cutting down the branches of the trees is found in several histories not noticed by M. Simrock. A similar stratagem is related in the old romance life of Alexander the Great, thus translated in the Thornton MS., in the library of Lincoln Cathedral:—"In the mene tyme, Kyng Alexander remowed his oste, and drew nere the cité of Susis, in the whilke Darius was lengand the same tyme, so that he myȝte see alle the heghe hillez that ware abowune the citee. Than Alexander commanded alle his mene that ilkane of thame suld cutte downe a brawnche of a tree, and bere thame furth with thame, and dryfe bifore thame alle manere of bestez that thay myȝte fynde in the way; and when the Percyenes saw thame fra the heghe hillez, thay wondred thame gretly." Compare, also, Olaus Magnus, vii., 20, *De Stratagemate Regis Hachonis per Frondes*:—"Nec accelerationi prospera fortuna defuit: nam primam et secundam vigilum stationem suspenso tacitoque itinere prætervectus, cum ad extremas sylvarum latebras devenisset, jussit abscissos arborum ramos singulorum suorum manibus gestari. Quod cum milites in tertiâ statione constituti adverterant, mox Sigaro nuntiant se insolitam et stupendam rei novitatem admirantibus oculis subjecisse. Visum quippe erat nemus suis sedibus evulsum ad regiam usque properare. Tum Sigarus animo ad insidiarum considerationem converso, respondit, eo sylvarum accessu sibi extrema fata portendi."

The reader may not be displeased to have the opportunity of perusing the extract from Gwynne's work, alluded to at p. 127 :—

“Ad regis introitum, e Joannensi Collegio extra portam urbis borealem sito, tres quasi Sibyllæ, sic (ut e sylva) salutarunt.

“1. Fatidicas olim fama est cecinisse sorores
Imperium sine fine tuæ, rex inclyte, stirpis.
Banquonem agnovit generosa Loquabria Thanum;
Nec tibi, Banquo, tuis sed sceptræ nepotibus illæ
Immortalibus immortalia vaticinatæ:
In saltum, ut lateas, dum Banquo recedis ab aula.
Tres eadem pariter canimus tibi fata tuisque,
Dum spectande tuis, e saltu accedis ad urbem;
Teque salutamus: Salve, cui Scotia servit;
2. Anglia cui, salve. 3. Cui servit Hibernia, salve.
1. Gallia cui titulos, terras dant cætera, salve.
2. Quem divisa prius colit una Britannia, salve.
3. Summe Monarcha Britannice, Hibernice, Gallice, salve.
1. Anna, parens regum, soror, uxor, filia, salve.
2. Salve, Henrice hæres, princeps pulcherrime, salve.
3. Dux Carole, et perbelle Polonice regule, salve.
1. Nec metas fatis, nec tempora ponimus istis;
Quin orbis regno, famæ sint terminus astra:
Canutum referas regno quadruplice clarum;
Major avis, æquande tuis diademate solis.
Nec serimus cædes, nec bella, nec anxia corda;
Nec furor in nobis; sed agente calescimus illo
Numine, quo Thomas Whitus per somnia motus,
Londinenses eques, musis hæc tecta dicavit.
Musis? imo Deo, tutelarique Joanni.
Ille Deo charum et curam, prope prætereuntem
Ire salutatum, Christi precursor, ad sædem
Christi pergentem, jussit. Dictâ ergo salute
Perge, tuo aspectu sit læta Academia, perge.”

In addition to these extracts, I take the opportunity of adding the history of Macbeth, from “Wintownis Cronykil,” as it has not been inserted in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, probably because that writer thought (and very justly) that it is at best a remote illustration of the play; but it is, nevertheless, worth a place in a work which professedly attempts to trace the plots to their originals:—

*“ Quhen Makbeth-Fynlay rase
And regnand in-til Scotland was.”*

In this tyme, as yhe herd me tell
Of Trewsone that in Ingland fell,
In Scotland nere the lyk cas
Be Makbeth-Fynlayk practykyd
was,
Quhen he mwrthrysyde his awyne
Eme,
Be hope, that he had in a dreme,
That he sawe, quhen he was yhyng
In Hows duelland wyth the Kyng,
That fayrly trettyd hym and welle
In all, that langyd hym ilke dele :
For he wes hys Systyr Sone,
Hys yharynyng all he gert be done.
Anycht he thowcht in hys drem-
yng,
That syttand he wes besyde the
Kyng
At a Sete in hwntyng ; swa
In-til his Leisch had Grewhundys
twa.
He thowcht, quhile he wes swa syt-
tand,
He sawe thre Wamen by gangand ;
And thai Wemen than thowcht he
Thre Werd Systrys mast lyk to
be.
The fyrst he hard say gangand
hy,
‘Lo, yhondyr the Thayne of Crwm-
bawchty.’
The tothir Woman sayd agayne,
‘Of Morave yhondyre I se the
Thayne.’
The thryd than sayd, ‘I se the
Kyng.’
All this he herd in hys dremyng.

Sone eftyre that in hys yhowthad
Of thyr Thayndomys he Thayne
wes made.
Syne neyst he thowcht to be Kyng,
Fra Dunkanyis dayis had tane end-
yng.
The fantasy thus of hys Dreme
Movyd hym mast to sla hys Eme ;
As he dyd all furth in-dede,
As before yhe herd me rede,
And Dame Grwok, hys Emys
Wyf,
Tuk, and led wyth hyr hys lyf,
And held hyr bathe, hys Wyf, and
Qweyne,
As befor than scho had beyne
Til hys Eme Qwene, lyvand
Quhen he wes Kyng wyth Crowne
rygnand :
For lytyl in honowre than had he
The greys of Affynyte.
All thus quhen his Eme wes dede,
He succedyt in his stede :
And sevyntene wyntyr full rygnand
As Kyng he wes than in-til Scot-
land.
All hys tyme was gret Plenté
Abowndand, bath on Land and Se.
He wes in Justice rycht lawchful,
And til hys Legis all awful.
Quhen Leo the tend wes Pape of
Rome,
As Pylgryne to the Curt he come :
And in hys Almus he sew Sylver
Til all pure folk, that had myster.
And all tyme oysyd he to wyrk
Profytably for Haly Kyrke.

Bot, as we fynd be sum Storys,
 Gottyne he wes on ferly wys.
 Hys Modyr to Woddis mad oft re-
 payre
 For the delyte of halesum ayre.
 Swa, scho past a-pon a day
 Til a Wod, hyr for to play:
 Scho met of cas with a fayr man
 (Nevyr nane sa fayre, as scho
 thowcht than,
 Before than had scho sene wytht
 sycht)
 Of Bewté plesand, and of Hycht
 Proportyownd wele, in all mesoure
 Of Lym and Lyth a fayre fy-
 gowre.
 In swylk aqweyntans swa thai fell,
 That, schortly thare-of for to tell,
 Thar in thar Gamyn and thar Play,
 That Persown be that Woman lay,
 And on hyr that tyme to Sowne
 gat
 This Makbeth, that eftyr that
 Grew til thir Statis, and this hycht,
 To this gret powere, and this mycht,
 As befor yhe have herd sayd.
 Fra this persowne wyth hyr had
 playd,
 And had the Jowné wyth hyr done,
 That he had gottyne on hyr a Sone,
 (And he the Dewil wes, that hym
 gat)
 And bad hyr noucht fleyd to be of
 that;
 Bot sayd, that hyr Sone suld be
 A man of gret state and bownté;
 And na man suld be borne of wyf
 Of powere to rewe hym hys lyf.
 And of that Dede in taknyng
 He gave his Lemman thare a Ryng;

And bad hyr, that scho suld kepe
 that wele,
 And hald for hys luve that Jwele.
 Eftyr that oft oysyd he
 Til cum til hyr in prewaté;
 And tauld hyr mony thyngis to
 fall;
 Set trowd thai suld noucht hawe
 bene all.
 At hyr tyme scho wes lychtare,
 And that Sowne, that he gat, scho
 bare.
 Makbeth-Fynlake wes cald hys
 name,
 That grewe, as yhe herd, til gret
 fame.
 This was Makbethys Ofspryng,
 That hym eftyr mad oure Kyng,
 As of that sum Story sayis;
 Set of hys Get fell othir wayis,
 And to be gottyn kyndly,
 As othir men ar generaly.
 And quhen fyrst he to rys be-
 gan,
 Hys Emys Sownnys twa lauchful
 than
 For dowl owt of the Kynryk fled.
 Malcolme, noucht gottyn of lauch-
 ful bed,
 The thryd, past off the land alsua
 As banysyd wyth hys Brethyr twa,
 Til Saynt Edward in Ingland,
 That that tyme thare wes Kyng
 ryngnand.
 He thame ressawyd thankfully,
 And trettyd thame ryght curtasly.
 And in Scotland than as Kyng
 This Makbeth mad gret steryng;
 And set hym than in hys powere
 A gret Hows for to mak of Were

A-pon the hycht of Dwnsynane:
 Tymbyr thare-til to drawe, and
 stane,
 Of Fyfe, and of Angws, he
 Gert mony oxin gadryd be.
 Sa, on a day in thare trawaile
 A yhok of oxyn Makbeth saw fayle:
 That speryt Makbeth, quha that
 awcht
 The yhoke, that faylyd in that
 drawcht.
 Thai answeyrd til Makbeth agayne,
 And sayd, Makduff of Fyfe the
 Thayne
 That ilk yhoke of oxyn awcht,
 That he saw fayle in-to the drawcht.
 Than spak Makbeth dyspytusly,
 And to the Thayne sayd angryly,
 Lyk all wrythyn in hys skyn,
 His awyn Nek he suld put in
 The yhoke, and ger hym drawchtis
 drawe,
 Noucht dowtand all hys Kynnys
 awe.
 Fra the Thayne Makbeth herd
 speke,
 That he wald put in yhok hys Neke,
 Of all hys thowcht he mad na Sang;
 Bot prewaly owt of the thrang
 Wyth slycht he gat; and the Spen-
 sere
 A Lafe him gawe til hys Supere.
 And als swne as he mycht se
 Hys tyme and opportunité,
 Owt of the Curt he past and ran,
 And that Layf bare wyth hym than
 To the Wattyre of Eryne. That
 Brede
 He gawe the Batwartis hym to
 lede,

And on the sowth half hym to
 sete,
 But delay, or ony lete.
 That passage cald wes eftyre than
 Lang tyme Portnebaryan;
 The Hawyn of Brede that suld be
 Callyd in-tyl propyrté.
 Owre the Wattyre than wes he
 sete,
 Bwt dawngere, or bwt ony lete.
 At Dwnsynane Makbeth that
 nycht,
 As sone as hys Supere wes dycht,
 And hys Marchalle hym to the
 Halle
 Fechyd, than amang thaim all
 Awaye the Thayne of Fyfe wes
 myst;
 And na man quhare he wes than
 wyst.
 Yhit a Knycht, at that Supere
 That til Makbeth wes syttand nere,
 Sayd til hym, it wes hys part
 For til wyt sowne, quethirwart
 The Thayne of Fyfe that tyme
 past:
 For he a wys man wes of cast,
 And in hys Deyd wes rycht wyly.
 Til Makbeth he sayd, for-thi
 For na cost that he suld spare,
 Sowne to wyt quhare Makduffe
 ware.
 This heily movyd Makbeth in-
 dede
 Agayne Makduffe than to procede.
 Yhit Makduff nevyrtheles
 That set besowth the Wattyre wes
 Of Erne, than past on in Fyfe
 Til Kennawchy, quhare than hys
 Wyfe

Dwelt in a Hows mad of defens:¹
 And bad hyr, wyth gret diligens
 Kepe that Hows, and gyve the Kyng
 Thidder come, and mad bydyng
 Thare ony Felny for to do,
 He gave hyr byddyng than, that
 scho

Suld hald Makbeth in fayre Tretté,
 A Bate quhill scho suld sayland se
 Fra north to the sowth passand;
 And fra scho sawe that Bate sayland,
 Than tell Makbeth, the Thayne
 wes thare

Of Fyfe, and til Dwnsynane fare
 To byde Makbeth; for the Thayne
 Of Fyfe thowcht, or he come agayne
 Til Kennawchy, than for til bryng
 Hame wyth hym a lawchful Kyng.

Til Kennawchy Makbeth come
 sone,

And Felny gret thare wald have
 done:

Bot this Lady wyth fayre Tretté
 Hys purpos lettyde done to be.

And sone, fra scho the Sayle wp
 saw,

Than til Makbeth wyth lytil awe
 Scho sayd, 'Makbeth, luke wp, and
 se

Wndyr yhon Sayle forsuth is he,
 The Thayne of Fyfe, that thow has
 sowcht.

Trowe thowe welle, and dowl rycht
 nowcht,

Gyve evyr thow sall hym se agayne,
 He sall the set in-tyl gret payne;
 Syne thow wald hawe put hys Neke
 In-til thi yhoke. Now will I speke
 Wyth the na mare: fare on thi
 waye,

Owthire welle, or ill, as happyne
 may.'

That passage syne wes comownly
 In Scotland cald the Erlys-ferry.

Of that Ferry for to knaw
 Bath the Statute and the Lawe,
 A Bate suld be on ilke syde
 For to wayt, and tak the Tyde,
 Til mak thame frawcht, that wald
 be

Fra land to land be-yhond the Se.
 Fra that the sowth Bate ware sene
 The landis wndyre sayle betwene
 Fra the sowth as than passand
 Toward the north the trad haldand,
 The north Bate suld be redy made
 Towart the sowth to hald the
 trade:

And thare suld nane pay mare
 Than foure pennys for thare fare,
 Quha-evyr for his frawcht wald be
 For caus frawchtyd owre that Se.

This Makduff than als fast
 In Ingland a-pon Cowndyt past.
 Thare Dunkanys Sownnys thre he
 fand,

That ware as banysyd off Scot-
 land,

¹ "This 'hows of defens' was perhaps Maiden Castle, the ruins of which are on the south side of the present Kennoway. There are some remains of Roman antiquity in this neighbourhood, and it is very probable that Macduff's castle stood on the site of a Roman *Castellum*.—MACPHERSON.

Quhen Makbeth-Fynlake thare Fadyr slwe,
 And all the Kynryk til hym drwe.
 Saynt Edward Kyng of Ingland than,
 That wes of lyf a haly man,
 That trettyd thir Barnys honestly,
 Ressayvyd Makduff rych curtasly,
 Quhen he come til hys presens,
 And mad hym honowre and reve-rens,
 As afferyd. Til the Kyng
 He tauld the caus of hys cummyng.
 The Kyng than herd hym movyrly,
 And answeyrd hym all gudlykly,
 And sayd, hys wyll and hys delyte
 Wes to se for the profyte
 Of tha Barnys; and hys wille
 Wes thare honowre to fullfille.
 He cownsayld this Makduffe for-thi
 To trete tha Barnys curtasly.
 And quhilk of thame wald wyth
 hym ga,
 He suld in all thame sykkyre ma,
 As thai wald thame redy mak
 For thare Fadyre dede to take
 Revengeans, or wald thare herytage,
 That to thame felle by rycht lynage,
 He wald thame helpe in all thare
 rycht
 With gret suppowale, fors, and
 mycht.

Schortly to say, the lawchful twa
 Brethire forsuke wyth hym to ga
 For dowl, he put thaim in that
 peryle,
 That thare Fadyre sufferyd qwhyle.
 Malcolme the thyrd, to say schortly,
 Makduff cownsayld rycht thrally,

Set he wes noucht of lauchfull
 bed,
 As in this Buke yhe have herd
 rede:
 Makduff hym tetryd nevyr-the-les
 To be of stark hart and stowtnes,
 And manlykly to tak on hand
 To bere the Crowne than of Scot-
 land:
 And bade hym thare-of hawe na
 drede:
 For kyng he suld be made in-dede:
 And that Traytoure ne suld ala,
 That banysyd hym and hys Bredyr
 twa.

Tham Malcolme sayd, he had a
 ferly,
 That he hym fandye sa thrally
 Of Scotland to tak the Crowne,
 Qwhill he kend hys condytyowne.
 Forsuth, he sayde, thare wes nane
 than
 Swa lycherows a lyvand man,
 As he wes; and for that thyng
 He dowtyde to be made a Kyng.
 A Kyngis lyf, he sayd, suld be
 Ay led in-til gret honesté:
 For-thi he cowth iwyl be a Kyng,
 He sayd, that oysyd swylk lyvyng.
 Makduff than sayd til hym a-
 gayne,
 That that excusatyowne wes in
 wayne:

For gyve he oysyd that in-dede,
 Of Women he suld have na nede;
 For of hys awyne Land suld he
 Fayre Wemen have in gret plenté.
 Gyve he had Conscyens of that
 plycht,
 Mend to God, that has the mycht.

Than Malcolme sayd, 'Thare is
mare,
That lettis me wyth the to fare:
That is, that I am sua brynnand
In Cowatys, that all Scotland
Owre lytil is to my persowne:
I set nowcht thare-by a bwttowne.'

Makduff sayd, 'Cum on wyth
me:
In Ryches thow sall abowndand be.
Trow wele the Kynryk of Scotland
Is in Ryches abowndand.'

Yhit mare Malcolme sayd agayne
'Til Makduff of Fyfe the Thayne,
De thryd wyce yhit mais me Lete
My purpos on thys thyng to sete:
I am sa fals, that na man may
Trow a worde that evyre I say.'

'Ha, ha! Frend, I leve the thare,'
Makduff sayd, 'I will na mare.
I will na langare karpe wyth the,
Na of this matere have Tretté;
Syne thow can nothire hald, na say
That stedfast Trowth wald, or gud
Fay.

He is na man, of swylk a Kynd
Cummyn, bot of the Dewylis Strynd,
That can nothyr do na say
Than langis to Trowth, and gud
Fay.

God of the Dewyl sayd in a quhile,
As I hawe herd red the Wangyle,
He is, he sayd, a Leare fals:
Swylk is of hym the Fadyre als.
Here now my Leve I tak at the,
And gyvys wp halyly all Tretté.
I cownt noucht the tothir twa
Wycys the walu of a Stra:
Bot hys thryft he has sald all owte,
Quham falshad haldis wndyr lowte.'

Til Makduff of Fyf the Thayne
This Malcolme awnseryde than a-
gayne,

'I will, I will,' he sayd, 'wyth the
Pass, and prove how all will be.
I sall be lele and stedfast ay,
And hald till ilke man gud fay.
And na les in the I trowe.

For-thi my purpos hale is nowe
For my Fadrys Dede to ta
Revengeans, and that Traytoure
sla,

That has my Fadyre befor slayne;
Or I sall dey in-to the payne.'

To the Kyng than als fast
To tak hys Leve than Malcolme
past,

Makduff wyth hym hand in hand.
This Kyng Edward of Ingland
Gawe hym hys Lewe, and hys gud
wyll,

And gret suppowale heyght thame
tille,

And helpe to wyn hys Herytage.

On this thai tuke thane thaire
wayage.

And this Kyng than of Ingland
Bad the Lord of Northwmbryland,
Schyr Sward, to rys wyth all hys
mycht

In Malcolmys helpe to wyn hys
rycht.

Than wyth thame of Northum-
byrland

This Malcolme enteryd in Scotland,
And past oure Forth, doun strawcht
to Tay,

Wp that Wattyre the hey way
To the Brynnane to-gyddyr hale.
Thare thai bad, and tvk cownsale.

Syne thai herd, that Makbeth aye
 In fantown Fretis had gret Fay,
 And trowth had in swylk Fantasy,
 Be that he trowyd stedfastly,
 Nevyre dyscumfyt for to be,
 Qwhill wyth his Eyne he suld se
 The Wode browcht of Brynnane
 To the hill of Dwnsynane.

Of that Wode thare ilka man
 In-til hys hand a busk tuk than :
 Of all hys Ost wes na man fre,
 Than in his hand a busk bare he :
 And til Dwnsynane alsa fast
 Agayne this Makbeth thai past,
 For thai thowcht wytht swylk a
 wyle
 This Makbeth for til begyle.
 Swa for to cum in prewaté
 On hym, or he suld wytryd be.
 The flyttand Wod thai callyd ay
 That lang tyme eftyre-hend that
 day.

Of this quhen he had sene that sycht,
 He wes rycht wa, and tuk the
 flycht :
 And owre the Mownth thai chast
 hym than
 Tyl the Wode of Lunfanan.
 This Makduff wes thare mast felle,
 And on that chas than mast crwele.
 Bot a Knycht, that in that chas
 Til this Makbeth than nerest was,

Makbeth turnyd hym agayne,
 And sayd, 'Lurdane, thow prykys
 in wayne,
 For thow may noucht be he, I
 trowe,
 That to dede sall sla me nowe.
 That man is nowcht borne of Wyf
 Of powere to rewe me my lyfe.'

The Knycht sayd, 'I wes nevyr
 borne;
 Bot of my Modyre Wame wes
 schorne.
 Now sall thi Tresowne here tak
 end;
 For to thi Fadyre I sall the send.'¹
 Thus Makbeth slwe thai than
 In-to the Wode of Lunfanan :
 And his Hewyd thai strak off thare ;
 And that wyth thame fra thine thai
 bare
 Til Kynkardyn, quhare the Kyng
 Tylle thare gayne-come made byd-
 yng.

Of that slawchter ar thire wers
 In Latyne wryttyne to rehers ;
Rex Macabeda decem Scotie sep-
temque fit annis,
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat :
Hunc in Lunfanan truncavit morte
crudeli
Duncani natus, nomine Malcol-
mus."

¹ This appears to be historic truth. But Boyse thought it did not make so good a story as that Macbeth should be slain by Macduff, whom he therefore works up to a proper temper of revenge, by previously sending Macbeth to murder his wife and children. All this has a very fine effect in romance, or upon the stage.—MACPHERSON.

XVII. AS YOU LIKE IT.

“Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie, found after his death in his cell at Silixedra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes nursed up with their father in England.” London, 1598, 4to. This is the title of the semichivalrous pastoral whence Shakespeare’s play above-named was taken. According to Eschenberg and Dunlop, the book was first printed in 1590.¹ The author’s name was Thomas Lodge, and he was an imitator of John Lily, who, by his romances of “Euphues,” “Euphues and his England,” “Euphues and his Ephæbus,” &c., and his nine court comedies, had given the taste of his time the impress of pedantic quibbling, and provided the ladies of Queen Elizabeth’s court, for twenty years, with choice similes from the Grecian Mythology, and fabulous stories of the powers of stones and herbs. This *stilo culto*, as it is named by Tieck, founded chiefly by Lily, ornamented, and dealing to extravagance in antithesis, a knowledge of which is indispensable to the understanding of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, is found in its harshest form in this little romance of Thomas Lodge; who gave himself out for an imitator of Lily, inasmuch as he feigned, in the introduction, that this Euphues, John Lily’s hero, left behind him this romance as a legacy to the sons of his friend Philautus. Robert Greene also, in his tale of “Dorastus and Faunia,” which we have given as the source of the “Winter’s Tale,” was, according to Dunlop, an imitator of Lily, though his tale shows more taste.

Tieck understands the title of the play “As You Like It,”

¹ No perfect copy of this edition appears to be known. Mr. Collier, in his *Shakespeare’s Library*, has used the impression of 1592.—ED.

as an answer to a gasconade of Ben Jonson's, in his play of "Cynthia's Revels," where he makes the epilogue say, in allusion to Shakespeare's poem—

"I'll only speak what I have heard him say,
By ———, 'tis good, and if you like 't you may."

But it is not easy to see wherein the wit of such an answer of Shakespeare consists, for the antithesis between "If You Like It" and "As You Like It" wants point. It seems probable to us that Shakespeare borrowed the title of this piece from the short address of Thomas Lodge to his readers with which the piece begins; for here he says—"if you like it, so; and yes I will be yours in duty, if you be mine in favour." Probably Tieck never saw Lodge's romance, which is somewhat scarce, else he would at least have mentioned these words.

The proffer which Adam Spencer makes to Rosader, to redeem his life with his own blood, does not occur in Shakespeare's play; but it does in the old play of "King Lear," (Tieck's "Old English Theatre," ii., 317) where Perillus makes it to Lear. Here it is clearly more in place than in "Rosalind." If, as Tieck suspects, Shakespeare was the author of the older "King Lear," and if this piece was represented before 1590, which is very probable, we might believe that Thomas Lodge had borrowed also on his part from Shakespeare, for this incident is not found in the source which Lodge followed.

Dr. Grey (notes on Shakespeare, i., 156 *et seq.*) and Upton have considered as the source of Shakespeare a metrical story written by a contemporary of Chaucer, "The Coke's tale of Gamelyn," which by some has been erroneously ascribed to this father of English poetry, as he is styled by Dunlop. It is, however, merely the original of Lodge's tale, though Shakespeare also may have known it. The chivalrous element in Lodge's pastoral romance is derived from this poem, which is probably a translation from the French. Here

Sir John Boundis¹ has three sons, John, Otis, and Gamelyn. After his death, Gamelyn is deprived of his inheritance by his eldest brother, and in every way oppressed. Among other things, he persuades him to try his strength with a very strong wrestler; in which contest, against all expectation, Gamelyn gains the victory. Here occurs the old peasant, who bears so heroically the death of his three² sons. The rest coincides, as far as the flight of Rosader and Adam Spencer, who is here called Adam le Dispenser, with Lodge. In the wood they meet with a troop of banditti, with their leader at their head. By these Gamelyn is taken up, and as their leader is shortly afterwards restored to his honours and possessions, he is chosen king in his stead. The rest differs entirely. Gamelyn finds at last an opportunity to avenge himself on his brother.

It is a thoroughly popular trait when Gamelyn out of envy is persuaded by his brother to the wrestling-match in which he conquers. So Reigin tempts Sigurd to the battle with the dragon Fafnir, whereby Sigurd gains the hoard (*der Hort*, a famous treasure), the knowledge of the speech of birds, and also, according to the German fable, the gift of invulnerability. Envy must always serve as the means for lending renown and lustre to the greatness of heroes. In that part of Lodge's story which he has added of his own invention, there is found nothing which belongs to popular fiction, unless we class therewith the terror of the lion at the sleeping Saladin; a trait borrowed from fabulous natural history, in which Lodge was deeply read.

¹ In Lodge, only Sir John, but in Shakespeare, Rowland de Bois. This speaks in favour of the poet's knowledge of the old poem.

² In Lodge, only two, but Shakespeare has restored the original number.

XVIII., XIX. LOCRIN; LORD CROMWELL.

The conclusion of our collection contains the sources of two pieces, the attribution of which to Shakespeare is doubtful. The investigation of the genuineness of these plays, lately maintained again by Tieck, does not belong to this place. The first has been translated in the "Old English Theatre," by Tieck, and Eschenburg has given an abstract of the second.

As for the source of "Locrine," we do not in this instance agree with Görres, who, in the introduction to *Lohengrin* (p. xlv.), ascribes to the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth (written between 1128-1138) certainly more credibility and historic fictional value than it really has, especially in its earlier part. The descent of the Britons from the Trojans, which Görres defends, seems to us merely an arbitrary invention of Monmouth's, not resting even upon a tradition. For the rest, his Chronicle really contains many genuine fictions and popular tales, which, however, Geoffrey first interwove in the mythic early history of Britain, chiefly invented by himself.

The insertion of the novel of *Bandello* may probably be considered as a departure from the plan of our work, whence the *historical* plays of Shakespeare must necessarily be excluded. But this piece can be only improperly classed among the historical.

We will here present the reader with some notices of the non-historical pieces of our author, of which the sources are not found in our collection.

The "Tempest" is hardly founded upon a *novella*, but, as

Tieck has already conjectured ("German Theatre," S. 22), from an older English play now lost, which Ayrrer has taken for the groundwork of his "Beautiful Sidea."¹ The cotemporary accounts, too, of the latest sea voyages, and the discovery of the Bermudas, have had, according to Douce, the greatest influence upon our author's representation. The description of a newly-discovered island in Montaigne (i., 10) is found *verbatim* in Gonzalo's mouth.

"Titus Andronicus" appears to have been remodelled by Shakespeare, in 1600, from an older piece, of which also an old German imitation has been preserved (Tieck's "German Theatre," S. 27); there is also, as is well known, a ballad on the same story in Percy.

The still undiscovered source of "Love's Labour Lost" is suspected by Douce to exist in some French story. Our readers will have seen, from the second part of Tieck's life of the poet, that the Italian teacher Florio, in London, known also as a writer, must have sat for the portrait of Holofernes. The name Holofernes, according to Dunlop's remark, is derived from Rabelais' "Gargantua," where a pedant, Gargantua's tutor, bears the same name.

Of "Troilus and Cressida," satisfactory accounts are found in Eschenburg. Of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," we have spoken in Chapters XII. and XIII. Grimm has shown ("Irish Fairy Tales," S. 59) that the English poets owe their Oberon, the fairy king, to the old French popular romance of "Huon and Auberon," and that the latter again is identical with the Alberich of German popular fiction, and of the Niebelungen lied.

A few remarks on the "Comedy of Errors," doubtlessly imitated from the "Menæchmi" of Plautus, will be found

¹ The members of the Shakespeare Society are promised a translation of this curious drama from the pen of Mr. Thoms, who was the first to introduce the subject to English readers in an interesting article in the "New Monthly Magazine."—ED.

in Chapters XII., XIII., and XIV. The alteration of Shakespeare, by which the two similar twins have servants, twins of the same remarkable resemblance, is not only excellent in itself, but also has quite the character of a popular fiction, as I hope to show in a treatise on the friendship stories.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to release my friends and fellow-labourers from any greater share of responsibility to the public and to criticism, than belongs to them, according to the proportion of their contributions. Therefore, I may be allowed to remark that the story of "Hamlet" (II.), and the *novella* of Giovanni Fiorentino, of the "Merchant of Venice," are by Dr. Echtermeyer; the story of *Felismene*, from Montemayor (XII.), and the sources of "Lear" and "Macbeth" (XV. and XVI.), are by Herr Henschel. The other pieces of this collection have been prepared by myself. In the composition of the preceding Remarks, the absence of my friends has deprived me of very desirable assistance.

THE END.

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY
OF
KING HENRY THE FOURTH,

PRINTED FROM
A CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPT.

EDITED BY
JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

HON. M.B.I.A., HON. M.B.S.L., F.B.A., ETC.

Απροσικτον ερωτον αφευραται παντα.

Pin. Nem. Od. 11.



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INTRODUCTION.

If it were stated that there was preserved in a certain library an unknown manuscript of one of Shakespeare's plays, contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the time of the author—and if, in addition to this, it were positively asserted that the manuscript was one of no particular value, that it afforded no various readings of any importance, and that it was not in fact worth the trouble of further investigation, such an assurance would not satisfy my curiosity. In an inquiry where a subject so important as the text of the works of Shakespeare was concerned, I repeat that no assurance of the worthlessness of an early manuscript or edition of any of his plays, in their present unsatisfactory state, would be sufficient to convince me of the absolute truth of such an opinion, unless at least it were accompanied with a substantial statement of every particular concerning it, as well as every new reading it possessed, or a copy of the original document; nor do I think that any Shakesperian student of ordinary zeal would be contented

with the limited use an individual might make of such an evidence. We have all been witnesses of the treasures left by reapers of literary antiquities for their followers in the same field, who have not unfrequently gathered a second harvest. This perhaps would not have been the case had the same facilities existed for effectually preserving whole and entire what was too frequently passed over with the rapidity and uncertainty that characterized some of the labours of the older critics; and, where we are compelled to rely on their researches, some of the authorities quoted having disappeared, we have often to regret the impossibility of ascertaining whether they may not have omitted something that would now be considered valuable. To an editor of Shakespeare, earnest in his work, imperfect information on any subject of the kind cannot fail to prove a matter of regret; what is passed over as of no value by one may prove the foundation of another's criticism; and we can hardly be blamed by our successors for endeavouring to make ready to their hands all early testimony respecting the works of our great dramatist, while it is yet in our power to preserve it.

Some considerations of this nature may be necessary to convince the public of the propriety of the course we have adopted in printing entire a document that presents only new readings and variations in a play already in the hands and memory of every reader. It may be said that all useful purposes would have been answered by giving the variations, without reprinting the parts that offer no new features. But, in so doing, we could not well have explained to the reader the general style and

conduct of the manuscript, and those numerous indications of its antiquity which are found in the orthography and other minute particulars difficult to be distinctly described, but which will be recognised by those who are in the habit of examining early records. In addition, we may observe that the actual variations from the received text are so numerous that little space would have been gained by such an arrangement; and this is said without attempting to pass a judgment on the critical value of the manuscript, upon which, in a great measure, depends the importance that may be placed upon its new readings. On this point, we do not anticipate any arguments that may be brought forward. Our object is merely to preserve a faithful copy of what is, as far as is at present known, an unique authority with respect to the plays of Shakespeare.

No early manuscript of any of the plays of Shakespeare has ever been used, or mentioned, by his editors or commentators; nor is there any reason to believe that the existence of a document of the kind was known to them. A manuscript copy of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, written during the time of the Commonwealth, is in the possession of the editor of this volume, and had been for some time considered the earliest in existence. Our public libraries may be searched in vain for any MSS. of Shakespeare, although copies of the plays of most of the other principal dramatists of his time are known to be preserved. Is it then surprising that those who attach importance to every early illustration of his writings should consider the discovery of a manuscript, having high claims to be considered a

copy of one of his best dramas, made in the author's own life-time, to be a genuine subject of congratulation and delight?

On the 23rd October, 1844, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, Vicar of Ryarsh, who has long been engaged, in conjunction with Mr. Streatfield, in preparing materials for a history of Kent, on a very elaborate and extensive scale, then on a visit to Sir Edward Dering, Bart., of Surrenden, was occupied in making some researches among the valuable charters and manuscripts preserved in the muniment-room of that ancient seat, a collection which had been chiefly formed early in the seventeenth century by the first baronet of the family. In one of the chests Mr. Larking discovered the MS. of Henry IV. now printed, and his astonishment at a result so entirely unexpected may well be imagined. He at once perceived how valuable a treasure such a volume was likely to prove to the dramatic antiquary, and no time was lost in communicating the discovery to those who had made the text of the poet a matter of peculiar study. It is a fortunate circumstance that the MS. was found by a scholar whose devotion to the best interests of literature was in no way retarded by the selfishness that pervades the conduct of many antiquaries on similar occasions. There was no desire on his part to consign the precious book again to a corner, nor would he have experienced any gratification in the thought that he only, in all the world, knew where such a rarity was deposited. And yet how often do we observe somewhat similar feelings in those who might reasonably be expected from their position to be entirely free from any

thing of the kind. The Shakespeare Society, in this case, are much indebted to Mr. Larking for placing his discovery at once in their hands; nor are they under less weighty obligations to Sir Edward Dering, for the readiness with which he has permitted the MS. to be printed, a liberality which cannot fail to be highly appreciated by every member of the Society.

Although the whole of the MS. is presented to the reader in the following pages, and by this means every opportunity given for testing its critical value, yet a few observations may be expected, more especially with reference to the reasons that have led to the opinion which has been formed respecting its date. It is scarcely necessary to remark that very few early manuscripts have attached to them the exact dates at which they were transcribed; it was not, in fact, the general practice for scribes to insert such memoranda in the works they thus preserved. It is evident, therefore, that, in many cases where there is a necessity for ascertaining points of this description, recourse must be had to other criteria. Such criteria exist in the form of the characters, in the paper, in the spelling, and even in the colour of the ink. The watermarks in the paper of the Deryng MS. belong to the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and the other criteria to the first half of the reign of her successor. The MS. has been shown to several eminent palæographers, who have assigned its latest date to that period; and the facsimile from the first page of the manuscript will, I feel convinced, bear out this opinion. Absolute evidence is difficult in such cases to be produced. All we can do

in this instance is to prove that the MS. was transcribed before 1644; expressing our hope, at the same time, that few will require positive testimony that it was written many years earlier. The body of the MS. is evidently the work of a person not very conversant with the subject-matter of his labours; the absurd punctuation and many errors are sufficient to show this, and that in all probability he was a mere copyist from some printed book or MS. placed before him. This copy has been corrected in many places by a later hand, which has been distinctly ascertained, by careful comparison made by Mr. Larking, to have been the work of Sir Edward Deryng, the first baronet, who died in 1644; and in further proof of this we give facsimiles of Sir E. Deryng's handwriting, both from this MS. and from an independent document still preserved in the archives of the family. We believe these will be considered good evidence of the identity. The corrections made by Sir E. Deryng are for the most part restorations to the printed text as it is found in the editions of his day, and in one place he has added a marginal note, "vide printed booke," clearly showing that he had collated parts of the MS. with a printed copy then in his hands. In other places he has either added to or erased parts of the original; and his alterations, if they prove nothing else, establish his own claim to a correct poetical taste, however alarmed we may be in these days at anything that approaches an adaptation of Shakespeare's work. We shall see perhaps that some object was to be gained by all this. The MS. does not contain the whole of Shakespeare's

Henry IV., but the two parts condensed into one, and, as we may presume, for the purpose of representation. In some instances, also, the number of the *dramatis personæ* is ingeniously diminished so as to suit a smaller corps of performers. The name of the person who was engaged in this adaptation will perhaps remain a mystery, but the transformation is managed with sufficient dexterity to warrant the conjecture that it was the work of a hand not altogether inexperienced in such matters. The facts above stated leave little room for supposition that it was Sir E. Deryng himself; and indeed the variations, in almost every respect, are so numerous, that we can hardly believe the MS. was transcribed from any corrected printed edition. At all events, we cannot discover any which contains them. If the adapter was a player, there seems to be no preponderating reason why the MS. should not originally have been the property of one of the metropolitan theatres, and have been prepared for the use of such an establishment. It is well known that the practice of altering plays in all imaginable ways was of common occurrence in Shakespeare's time. In Henslowe's Diary, we read of dramatic authors being paid for "mending" the works of their contemporaries, and this may be one of the few specimens that have been preserved of their powers of emendation.

If it should be asked how it happened that Sir Edward Deryng, who took so distinguished a part in the public affairs of his time, should have been at the pains to collate this copy of Henry IV. with the printed edition, we must beg part of the inquiry by

stating the probability that such an occupation could only have engaged his attention at an earlier period of his career. We have, however, a complete answer in the fact that private theatricals flourished at Surrenden. On a slip of paper, in the MS. of Henry IV., is the following list of *dramatis personæ* in the “Spanish Curate,” with the caste of characters by gentlemen well known as belonging to families of distinction in Kent:—

Leandro	.	.	.	S ^r Tho. Wotton
Octauio	.	.	.	S ^r Warrhm S ^t Leger
Bartolvs	.	.	.	S ^r Edw : Dering
James	.	.	.	Robt. Heywood
Henriqve	.	.	.	Edw : Dering
Lopez	.	.	.	Tho : Slender
Deigo	.	.	.	M ^r Donne
Assistent	.	.	.	Jhon Dering
————	.	.	.	M ^r Kemp.

This is in Sir E. Deryng’s handwriting, and in another column he has written another list for the same characters in the following order:—“Frances Manouch, Thom : Slender, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Donne, Jhon Deryng, Jhon Carlile, Thom : Deryng, Jacke of y^e buttery, Anthõy Deryng, Georg Perd.” This list must have been written between the year 1626, when Deryng was created a baronet, and 1630, the year of Wotton’s decease. About that period, therefore, it is probable that Deryng procured the MS. of Henry IV., and from the trouble he has bestowed upon it, we may be allowed to conclude that he intended it for private representation. It will be observed that it contains nearly the whole of the First, and a small portion of

the Second Part, the arrangement of the acts and scenes being made to suit the adaptation in the following order:—

<i>Deryng Manuscript.</i>	<i>Printed editions.</i>
Act i. Sc. 1.	Act i. Sc. 1. Part 1.
Sc. 2.	Act i. Sc. 2.
Sc. 3.	Act i. Sc. 3.
Sc. 4.	Act i. Sc. 3.
Sc. 5.	Act ii. Sc. 2.
Sc. 6.	Act ii. Sc. 2.
Act ii. Sc. 1.	Act ii. Sc. 3.
Sc. 2.	Act ii. Sc. 4.
Sc. 3.	Act ii. Sc. 4.
Act iii. Sc. 1.	Act iii. Sc. 1.
Sc. 2.	Act iii. Sc. 2.
Sc. 3.	Act iii. Sc. 3.
Sc. 4.	Act iii. Sc. 3.
Sc. 5.	Act iv. Sc. 1.
Sc. 6 and 7	Act iv. Sc. 2 and 3.
Sc. 8.	Act iv. Sc. 3.
Act iv. Sc. 1.	Act v. Sc. 1.
Sc. 2.	Act v. Sc. 2.
Sc. 3.	Act v. Sc. 3.
Sc. 4.	Act v. Sc. 3.
Sc. 5.	Act v. Sc. 4.
Sc. 6.	Act v. Sc. 4.
Sc. 7.	Act v. Sc. 4.
Sc. 8.	Act v. Sc. 5.
Sc. 9.	Act i. Sc. 1. Part 2.
Sc. 10.	Act ii. Sc. 1.
Act v. Sc. 1.	Act ii. Sc. 3.
Sc. 2.	Act iii. Sc. 1.
Sc. 3. }	{ Act iii. Sc. 1.
Sc. 4. }	{ Act iv. Sc. 4.
Sc. 5.	Act iv. Sc. 4.

Act v. Sc. 6.	.	.	.	Act iv. Sc. 4.
Sc. 7.	.	.	.	Act iv. Sc. 4.
Sc. 8.	.	.	.	Act iv. Sc. 4.
Sc. 9.	.	.	.	Act v. Sc. 2.
Sc. 10.	.	.	.	Act v. Sc. 2.

Believing that the student will consider a minute collation of the MS. with the printed edition no unpleasant task, it will scarcely be necessary to enter on the subject with very great exactness; and yet there are a few variations that have occurred as affording happy emendations which may deserve a passing notice. It has been already remarked that it is not our wish to pronounce an opinion on the critical value of the manuscript, preferring to leave that question rather for those whose experience and judgment render their decisions of more authority. But we must be careful not to allow the self-evident errors of the MS. to weigh against the authority of the good readings it possesses. When we consider that it is the work of a professed scribe, this alone is sufficient to account for mere clerical errors, which, after all, testify to the integrity of the text; and it is most unlikely such a person would have introduced so many variations on his own authority. In some places, additional sentences and several lines are found not belonging to any known edition of Shakespeare's play. We are not, however, to conclude that these additions proceeded from Shakespeare's pen. If they did not, and if the critical value of the MS. is disputed, it still is unquestionably a volume of great curiosity in the absence of any other relic of a similar kind.

ACT I. Sc. 1. (Part 1.)

No more the thirsty *entrance* of this soil
 Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood.

For *entrance* some of the editors would read *Erinnys*. Shakespeare here uses the term for *mouth*. The MS. has *bosom*, and reads the lines very differently. See p. 3. There seems to be no necessity for any alteration, but the reading of the MS. is curious and worthy of consideration.

ACT I. Sc. 1. (Part 1.)

Forthwith a power of English shall we levy,
 Whose arms were moulded in their mother's womb
 To chase these pagans *in* those holy fields.

The MS. reads "*from* those holy fields." The object of the crusaders was to gain possession of the Holy Land, to chase the pagans *from*, not *in*, the "holy fields."

ACT I. Sc. 3. (Part 1.)

And hid his *crisp* head in the hollow-bank.

The MS. reads *crispy*, which sounds less harsh, though not so strictly metrical. The word is here used in the sense of *wavy*, not exactly *curled*. See Holme's Academy of Armory, 1688, ii., 463; "a *curled* hair is when a lock of hair turns round and round in itself; a *crisped* hair is when it lyeth in a kind of wave." Compare the Merchant of Venice, iii., 2, "crisped snaky golden locks."

ACT II. SC. 4. (Part 1.)

Fals. The same mad fellow of the North, Percy; and he of Wales, that gave Amaimon the bastinado, and made Lucifer cuckold, and swore the devil his true liegeman upon the cross of a Welsh hook,—What, a plague, call you him?

Poins. O, Glendower.

Fal. Owen, Owen; the same.

The MS. makes Poins answer, "*Owen* Glendower," and it is easy to see this must be the correct reading from Falstaff's answer: The error is one easily made, initials being constantly written for Christian names. Besides, an exclamation from Poins would be out of place. All modern editors read "*That* same mad fellow," but are supported by no early authority.

ACT III. SC. 2. (Part I.)

The skipping king, he ambled up and down
With shallow jesters and *rash bavin* wits,
Soon kindled and soon burnt.

The editors tell us that *bavin* is brushwood, and the word, though a strange one to be thus introduced, may be warranted by the next line; but perhaps some may prefer the reading of our MS. "rash brain'd wits."

ACT III. SC. 1. (Part 2.)

——Then, happy, low lie down!
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

This is the arrangement of these lines in the MS., and appears preferable to "low-lie-down," as sometimes printed, or, "happy low, lie down," the meaning of which is not very intelligible. The passage is not

more obscure than many in Shakespeare. In prose it might be interpreted, "Then lie down low, being happy, for uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

There are many other variations that would probably lead to much discussion, but we purposely refrain from entering upon them at present, merely premising that much caution and attentive deliberation should precede the rejection of readings hitherto received as settled and of good authority. Enough has already been said to convince the reader that there has been no desire on our part to enhance the value of the MS. beyond what so unique a curiosity really deserves; at the same time, we cannot conceal our anxious hope that it may meet with attention from those who have made the text of Shakespeare and the history of his writings a matter of study. It is almost unnecessary to remark that, owing to the activity of the press, MSS. are daily becoming of less value, so that discoveries like the present are necessarily of rare occurrence, and perhaps the day is not far distant when nearly everything of real value in MS. will have been given to the public. It is believed that this publication will be considered as subscribing its humble effort towards a result so "devoutly to be wished."

Before these brief observations are brought to a close, it may be as well to mention, and perhaps indeed the admission becomes necessary for the sake of candour, that one exception to the general opinion regarding the age of the Deryng Manuscript has occurred in the belief of an antiquary, whose name I am not sure is permitted to be inserted in support of his singular

views in this matter, but who is inclined to assign the writing to the time of Charles II. That such an opinion must at least have been formed on an imperfect knowledge of original documents of the seventeenth century, even admitting the supposition that we had not conclusive evidence the MS. must have been written long previously, I confidently refer to the facsimiles here given in support of my case to those who have no opportunity of consulting the precious volume itself; and I feel no hesitation whatever in saying that no writing of the time of Charles II. can be produced which bears the same characteristics. It is fortunate we possess good evidence in support of its antiquity, for antiquaries have inferred too many wrong conclusions from indifferent premises for their opinions to be considered of much authority with the public; and, indeed, with regard to manuscripts, their age and progress, results have been deduced that would generally be regarded unwarrantable. It is to be hoped that such errors have here been avoided, and that more regard has been paid to utility than mere antiquarian curiosity.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

17th March, 1845.

Facsimile of Sir E. Derry's Hand writing, from a Manuscript in the Archives of the Family.

Part Being Saturday 1624. at 1625. at six of 8 clock at night, at winter-ha
in the Duke of-Buckingham's lodgings I married Anne Ashboerham
third Da: of sr. Jo: Ashboerham late of Ashboerham but.

Fac Simile of Sir K. Dering's Hand-writing, from the Shakespeare Manuscript.

[illegible]

King Henry the Fourth, a manuscript of the time of James I.
fol.

The unique manuscript, from which the following text is printed, is a small folio volume on paper, slightly stitched and unbound, measuring $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$, and written apparently by a scribe, in the handwriting most common at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It contains 55 leaves, exclusive of three fly leaves. On one of the fly leaves is found the mark "A 5," indicating perhaps the pressmark of the MS., which has various alterations and insertions in the handwriting of Sir Edward Deryng, the first baronet of that name. Pains have been taken to present the reader with a faithful copy of the original, and with this view the foot-notes will be found to refer exclusively to the state of the text as given in this manuscript.

THE HISTORY
OFF
KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

ACT: I^{us}.—SCÆN: 1^a.

Enter JHON *E.* of LANCASTER, S^r WALTER BLUNT, *King*
HENRY, *and Attendance.*¹

King. So shaken as we are, so wan with care,
Find we a time for frightened peace to pant,
And breath short winded accents of [new broiles
To be cōmenc't in stronds afarre remote.²]
No more y^e thirsty bosome of this land
Shall wash her selfe in³ her owne childrens bloud.
No more shall trenching warre channell her feildes,
Nor bruise her flowretts with y^e armed hoofes
Of hostile paces. Those opposed eyes,
Which like y^e meteors of a troubled heauen,
All of one nature, of one substance bredd,

¹ Deryng has transposed the position of "S^r Walter Blunt" and "King Henry," and added the word "bare" after *Lancaster*.

² Instead of the part within brackets, Deryng has written "sweete rest."

³ Originally *with*.

Did lately meete in y^e intestine shocke
 And furious close of ciuill butchery,
 Shall now in mutuall well-beseeming rankes,
 March all one way : and be no more oppos'd
 Against acquaintance, kindred and allyes.
 The edge of warre, like an ill-sheathed knife,
 No more shall cutt his master. Therefore freindes
 Forthwith a power of English shall we leuy,
 Whose armes were moulded in their mothers wombes,¹
 To chase these Pagans from those holy feildes,
 And force proude Mahomett from Palestine.
The high aspiring crescent of y^e Turk
Wee'll pluck into a lower orbe. And then
Humbling her borrowed pride to th' English lyon,
With labour a[n]d with honour wee'll fetch here
A sweating laurell from y^e glorius East
And plant new iem̃s on royall Englands² crowne.
Wee'll pitch our honours att y^e sonnes rprise
And sell ourselves or winn a glorious prize.³
 But this our purpose now is twelue-month's old,
 And bootelesse 'tis to tell you we will go.
 Therefore we meete not now. Then lett me heare
 Of you my gentle⁴ sonne of Lancaster,
 What yesternight our counsell did decree,
 In forwardinge this decre expedience.

Lanc. My lieg, this hast was hott in question
 And many limitts of the charg sett downe,
 But yesternight when all athwart there came

¹ This line has been erased.

² Perhaps this should be "Englands royall," but I leave it as it is in the original.

³ These eight lines, printed in Italics, are added on a slip of paper in Deryng's handwriting.

⁴ Originally *noble*.

A post from Wales, laden with heauy newes
 Whose worst was : that the noble Mortimer
 Leading the men of Herdfordsheere to fight
 Against th' irregular and wild Glendower
 Was by the rude handes of that Welchman taken
 A thousand of his people butchered
 Vpon whose dead corps there was such misevse
 Such beastly shameles transeformaçõn
 By those Welch-women don : as may not be
 (Without much shame) retold or spoken of.

King. It seemes then, that the tidinges of this broyle
 Brake off our buisines for the Holy Land

Lanc. This matcht with other-like (my gracious lord)
 Far more vneuen and vnwelcome newes
 Came from the North : and thus it did report
 On Holy-roode-day : the gallant Hotspur there
 Young Harry Percy : and braue Archibald
 That euer valiant & aproued Scote
 At Holmedon met : where they did spend
 A sad & bloody hower :
 As by discharge of there artillary
 And shape of likelihood. the newes was told
 For he that brought them in the verry heate
 And prid of their contention did tak horse
 Vncertaine of the issue any way :

King. Here is a deare & true industrious friend
 Sir Walter Blunt : New lighted from his horse
 Straind with the variation of each soyle
 Betwixt that Holmedon : & this seat of ours
 And he hath brought vs smoth & welcome newes
 The Earle of Dowglas is discomfited
 Ten thowsand bold Scots : two & twenty knights
 Balkt in their owne blood did Sir Walter see
 On Holmedons playnes : of prisoners Hotspur tooke
 Mordake Earle of Fife & eldest sonne

To beaten Dowglas & the Earle of Atholl

Of Murrey : Angus : and Menteith

And is not this an honourable spoyle ?

A gallant prize : ha. Blunt¹ is it not ? in faith it is

Blunt. A conquest for a prince to boast of :

King. Yea : there thou mak'st me sad : & mak'st me sinne
In envy that my lord Northumberland

Should be the father of so blest a sonne :

A sonne, who is the theame of honoures tongue,

Amongst a groue : the very straightest plant

Who is sweet fortunes minion & her pride

Whilst I by lookeing on the praise of hime

See riot and dishonour staine the brow

Of my young Harry : O that it could be prou'd

That some night-tripping fairy had exchang'd

In cradle clothes our childeen where they lay

And cal'd myne Percy : his Plantagenet

Then would I haue his Harry and he myne

But let hime from my thoughts : what think yo^w Blunt

Of this young Percies prid : the prisoners

Which he in this aduenture hath surpris'd

To his owne vse he keepes, & sends me word

I shall haue none : but Mordake Earle of Fife

Blunt. This is his vnckles teaching : this is Worsester
Maleuolent to yow in all respects

Which makes hime prune himeselfe & bristle vp

The crest of youth : against yow^r dignity.

King. But I haue sent for hime to answeare this
& for this cause a while we must neglect

Our holy purpose to Jerusalem

On Wednesday next our counsell we will hold

At Winsor, so informe the lords

But come yow^r selfe with speed to us agayne

¹ Originally *Coosen*.

For more is to be said & to be done
Then out of anger can be vttered.

Blunt. I will, my liege.

Exeunt.

ACT : 1.—SCÆN : 2^{da}.

Enter Prince of WALES & S^r JOHN FALSTAFFE.

Falst. Now Hall : what time of daie is it lad ?

Prince. Thou art so fatt-witted with drinkinge of old sacke and vnbuttoning thee after supper, and sleeping vpon benches After noone, that thou hast forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldest truely knowe. what a deuill hast thou to doe with the time of the daie, vnles howers weare cups of sacke, and minites capons, & clockes the tongues of bawdes & diall the signes of leaping houses, & the blessed sunne himeselfe a faire hot wench in flame-coulered taffata. I see noe reason whie thou shouldest be superfluous to demand the time of the daie.

Falst. Indeed yo^w come neere me Hall, for we that take purses, goe by the moone & seauen stares : & not by Phebus he that wandring knight so faire : and I preethee sweet wagge when thou art king, as God saue thie grace : Maiestie I should say, for grace thou wilt haue none.

Prin. What none ?

Fals. Noe by my troth. not so much as will serue to be prologue to an egge & butter.

Prin. Well how then. Com. roundly, roundly.

Fals. Mary then sweet wagge, when thou art kinge : let not us that ar squires of the nights bodie, be called theeues of the daies beauty : lett vs be Dianaes forresters, gentlemen of the shade minions of the moone : & lett men saie, we be men of good gouerment ; being gouerned as the sea is by our noble *and chast*¹ mistris the moone, vnder whose countenance we steale :

¹ *And chast.* These words are in Deryng's handwriting.

Prin. Thou sayest well : & it holds well too : for the fortune of us y^t are the moones men, doth ebbe & flow like the sea being goerned as the sea is by the moone : as for prooffe now a purse of gold most resolutely snatcht on Mondaie night : and most desolutely spent on Tusdaie morninge got w^t sweareing : lay by : & spent with crying bring in now in as low an ebbe as the foote of *y^e ladder*,¹ & by and by in as high a flow as the ridg of the gallowes.

Fals. By the Lord thow saiest true lad, & is not my hostis of the tauerne a most sweet wench.

Prin. As the hony of Hibla my old lad of the castle : and is not a buffe jerkein a most sweet robe of durance.

Fals. How now : how now mad wagge what in thie quips and thie quidities, what a plague haue I to doe with a buffe jerkine.

Prin. Whie what a pox haue I to doe w^t my hostesse of the tauerne.

Fals. Well : thow hast cald her to a reckon[i]ng many a time and oft.

Prin. Did I euer call for thee to paie thie part

Fals. No Ill giue thee thie due : thow hast paid all there

Prin. Yea and else where : so long as my coyne would stretch and where it would not I haue vs'd my credit.

Fals. Yea & so vsd it that weare it not here aparant that thou art heire aparant, *thou wouldst be trusted no more*,² but I prethee sweet wagge shall there be gallowes standing in England when thou art king & resolution thus fubd as it is with the curb of old father Antick the law : doe not thou when thou art a king hang a theife

Prin. Noe. thow shalt.

Fals. Shall I : O rare. by the Lord Ile be a braue judge.

¹ The words in Italics are added in the margin, in Deryng's handwriting.

² The sentence in Italics is an addition in Deryng's handwriting.

Prin. Thou judgest false already : I meane thou shalt haue the hangeing of the theeues : & also become a rare hangman.

Fals. Well. Hall. well, & in some sort it jumpes with my humor as well as waiting in the court, I can tell yo^w.

Prin. For obtayning of sutes.

Fals. Yea for obtayninge of suts whereof the hangman hath noe leane wardrop : zblood I am as malancholy as a gib'd cat ; or a lugd beare.

Prin. Or an old lione, or a louers lute.

Fals. Yea or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe

Prin. What sayest thou to a hare, or the malancholy of Moore-ditch

Fals. Thou hast the most vnsauory similes, and art indeed the most comparatiue rascaldest sweet young prince but Hall : I prethee trouble me no more w^t vanity : I would to God thou & I knew where a coñmodity of good names weare to be bought : An old lord of the counsell rated me the other daie in the street about yo^w Sir, but I markt hime not : & yet he talkt very wisely : but I regarded hime not : & yet he *talkt wisely*,¹ and in the street too.

Prin. Thou didst well, but if thou hadst preferd hime to a pulpett thou hadst done better.

Fals. O thou hast damnable iteration & art indeed able to corrupt a saynt : thou hast don much harmme vnto me Hall : God forgiue thee for it. before I knew thee Hall I knew nothing : & now am I : if a man should speake truly : little better then on of the wicked : I must giue ouer this life : & I will giue it ouer : by the Lord & I doe not I am a villaine. Ile be damned for neuer a kings sonne in Christedome.

Prin. Where shall we take a purse to-morrow. Jacke :

Fals. Zounds wheare thou wilt Lad : Ile make on & I doe not : call me villaine, and baffell me.

¹ Originally "verry wisely talkt," but altered as in the text by Sir E. Deryng.

Prin. I see a good amendment of lyfe in thee from praying to purstakeing.

Fals. Whie Hall, tis my vocation Hall: 'tis no sinne for a man to labor in his vocation.

Enter POINES.

Prin. Good morrow Ned.

Poines. Good morrow sweet Hall: what sayes Monsier remorse: what saies S^r John Sack & suger: Jacke how agrees the diuell & thee about thie soule that thow souldest hime one Good Fridaie last: for a cup of Madera and a cold capons legge.

Prin. S^r John stands to his word: the diuell shall haue his bargaine for he was yet neuer a breaker of prouerbes: he will giue the diuell his due.

Poines. Thē art thou damnd for keeping thie word w^t the diuell.

Prin. Else he had bine damnd for cosening the diuell.

Poyn. But my lads my lads, by to morrow morning by fower a clock early at Gads hill: there ar pillgrimes goeing to Canterbury w^t rich offerings & traders riding to London w^t fatt purses: I haue vizards for yo^w all: yo^w haue horses for yow^r selues. I haue bespoke supper to morrow night in Eastcheap: we may doe it as secure as sleep: if yo^w will goe I will stuffe yow^r purses full of crownes if yo^w will not tarry at home & be hang'd.

Fals. Heare ye Edward: if I tarry at home & goe not, Ille hang yo^w for goeing.

Poyn. Yow will Chops.

Fals. Hall wilt thou make on.

Prin. Who. I rob, I a theefe, not I by my faith.

Fals. Theres neither honesty manhood nor good-fellow-shipe in thee: nor thou camest not of the bloud royall if thou darest not stand for ten-shillings.

Prin. Well then: once in my dayes Ile be a mad-cap.

Fals. Why that's well said.

Prin. Well come what will come, Ile tarry at home.

Fals. By the Lord Ile be traytor then when thow art king.

Prin. I care not.

Poyn. Sir John I prethee leaue the prince & me alone: I will lay hime downe such reasons for this aduenture that he shall goe.

Fals. *Well God giue thee the spirit of perswasion & hime the eares of proffiting that what thou speakest may moue & what he heares may be beleued that the*¹ true prince (may for recreation sake) proue a false theefe: for the poore abuses of the time want countenance: farewell yo^w shall find me in Eastcheap.

Prin. Farewell the latter springe: farewell Allhallowne summer. *Exit.*²

Poyn. Now my good sweet hony lord, ride with us to morrow I haue a jest to execute that I cannot mañage alone. Falstalffe, Harvay, Peto and Bardolff shall rob those men y^t we haue already waylaide yow^r selfe & I will not be there and when they haue the booty: if yo^w & I doe not rob them cut this head from my shoulders: and sirra I haue cases of buckorum for the nonce to immaske our noted outward garments.

Prin. Yea, but I doubt they will be to hard for vs.

Poyn. Well for two of them I know two of them to be as true-bred cowards as euer turn'd backe, & for the third if he fight longer then he sees reason Ile forswear armes: the vertue of this jest wilbe the incomprehensible lyes that this fatt rogue will tell vs when we meet at supper: how thirty at least he fought with: what wards: what blowes: what extremities he indured & in the reproofe of this lyes the jest.

Prin. Well Ile goe with thee puid us all things necessary

¹ Deryng has scratched through the part in italics, and substituted for it the words, "Well, Hall, the——"

² This direction is in Deryng's handwriting.

and meett me to morrow night in Eastcheap : there Ile suppe.
farewell.

Poyn. Farewell my lord.

Exit POYNES.

Prin. I know yo^w all and will a while vphold
The vnyoakt humor of yow^r idlenes
Yet herein will I imitate the sunne
Who doth pmitt the base contagious clouds
To smother vp his beauty from the world
That when he please agayne to be himeselfe
Being wanted ; he may be more wondred at
By breakeing through the foule & vgly mists
Of vapors that did seeme to strangle hime
If all the yeare weare playinge Holy-daies
To sport would be as tedious as to worke
But when they seldome come : they wisht for come
And nothinge pleaseth but rar accidents
So when this loose behauiour I throw off
& paie the debt I neuer pmised
By how much better then my word I ame
By so much shall I falsifie mens hopes
& like bright mettall on a sullen ground
My reforma^õn glittering ore my fault
Shall shew more godly : and attract more eyes
Then that which hath noe soyle to sett it off.
Ile so offend to make offence a skill
Redeeming time when men think least I will.

Exit.

ACT. I¹ : — SCÆN : 3th.

*Enter the King,*¹ NORTHUMBERLAND, WORCESTER, HOTSPUR,
S^r WALTER BLUNT, *with others.*

King. My bloud hath bine too cold and temperate

¹ After this "Lancaster" was originally written, but some one, probably Deryng, has erased it.

Vnapt to stirre at these indignityes
 And yo^w haue found me. for accordingly
 Yo^w tread vpon my patience: but be sure
 I will from henceforth rather be my selfe
 Mightie & to be feard: then my condiçõn
 Which hath beene smoth as oyle: soft as young downe
 And therefore lost that title of respect
 Which the proud soule nere prayes but to the proud

Worce. Our howse (my soueraigne leige) little deserues
 The scourge of greatnes to be vsed on it
 And that same greatnes too: which our owne hands
 Haue holpe to make so portly

Nor. My lord

King. Worcester gett thee gone: for I doe see
 Danger and disobedience in thine eye
 O, S^r yow^r presents is to bould & peremtory
 And maiesty might neuer yet indure
 The moody frontier of a seruant browe
 Yo^w haue good leaue to leaue vs: when we need
 Yow^r vse & counsell, we shall send for yo^w.

Exit WORCESTER.

Yo^w weare about to speake

Nor. Yea my good lord
 Those prisoners in yow^r highnes name demanded
 Which Harry Percey here at Holmedon toke
 Weare as he saies: not with such strength denied
 As he deliuered to yow^r Maiesty:
 Either envy therefore, or misprision
 Is guilty of this fault and not my sonne

Hotsp. My Leige I did deny noe prisoners
 But I remember when the fight was done
 When I was dry with rage and extreame toyle
 Breathles and faint: Leaning vpon my sword
 Came there a certayne lord: neat & trimely drest
 Fresh as a bridgroom: & his chine new reapt

Shewed like a stubble land : at harvest home
He was perfumed like a milliner
And twixt his fingers and his thumb he held
A pouncet box : w^{ch} euer & anon
He gaue his nose : & tooke away agayne
Who therewith angry. when it next cam there
Tooke it in snuffe : & still he smild & talkt
& as the soldiers bore dead bodyes by
He cald them vntaught knaues : vnmañerly
To bring a slovenly vnhand-som coarse
Betwixt the wind & his nobillity
With many holly-dayes : & Lady termes
He questioned me : among the rest demanded
My prisoners in yow^r Maiesties behalfe
I then, all smarting w^t my wounds being cold
To be so pestered w^t a popengay
Out of my greefe & my impatience
Answered neglectingly, I know not what
He should : or he should not : for he made me mad
To see hime shinne so brisk & smell so sweet
& talke so like a waighting gentlewoman
Of guns & drums & wounds : God saue the marke
& telling me the soueraignest thing on earth
Was parmacity for an inward bruse
& that it was great pittie : so it was
This villanous saltpeter should be diggd
Out of the bowells of the harmelesse earth
W^{ch} many a good tall fellow had destroyd
So cowardly : & but for these vile guns
He would haue beene himeselfe a soldier
This bald vnjoynd chat of his (my lord)
I answered indirectly (as I said)
And I beseech yo^w lett not this report
Com curreant for an accusation
Betwixt my loue : & yow^r high maiesty :

*Lanc.*¹ The circumstance considered : good my lord
 What ere Harry Percy then had said
 To such a person : and in such a place :
 At such a time : w^t all the rest retold
 May reasonably dye : & neuer rise
 To doe hime wrong : or any way impeach
 What then he said, so he vnsaye it now :

King. Whie yet he doth deny his prisoners
 But w^t puiso & exception
 That we at our owne charg shall ransome straight
 His brother in law, the folish Mortimer
 Who in my soule hath willfully betraid
 The liues of those that he did leade to fight
 Agaynst the great magitian damned Glendower
 Whose daughter as we heare : the Earle of March
 Hath lately married : shall our coffers then
 Be emptied to redeem a traytor home :
 Shall we buy treason : & indent w^t feares
 Whē they haue lost & fortified themselues
 No on the barren mountaine let hime sterue
 For I shall neuer hold that man my friend
 Whose tongue shall aske me for on peñy cost
 To ransome home revolted Mortimer :

Hot. Revolted Mortimer
 He neuer did fall off : my soueraigne leige
 But by the chance of warre, to proue that true
 Needs noe more but on tongue, for all those wounds
 Those mouthed wounds : w^{ch} valiantly he tooke
 When on the gentle Seuerns siedged banke
 In single opposition : hand to hand
 He did confound the best part of an hower

¹ Originally "Blunt." This is the beginning of a page in the MS., but the catchword was originally *Lancaster*, and afterwards altered to *Blunt*.

In changeing hardiment w^t great Glendower
 Three times they breathd : & three times did they drinke
 Vpon agreement of swift Severns flood
 Who then affrighted with theire bloody lookes
 Ran fearefully among the trembling reeds
 & hid his crise-pe head in the hollow banke
 Blood-stained w^t these valiant combatans
 Neuer did bare and rotten pollicy
 Colour her workeing w^t such deadly wounds
 Nor neuer could the noble Mortimer
 Receiue so many : & *all*¹ willingly
 Then lett not hime be slandred w^t revolt.

King. Thou dost bely hime Percey : thow dost bely hime
 He never did encounter with Glendower
 I tell thee he durst as well haue mett the diuell alone
 As Owen Glendower for an enymie
 Art thou not asham'd : but Sirra : henceforth
 Let me not heare yo^w speake of Mortimer
 Send me yow^r prisoners w^t the speediest meanes :
 Or yo^w shall heare in such a kind frome me
 As will displease yo^w : my lord Northumberland
 We lycence yow^r departure w^t yow^r sonne :
 Send vs yow^r prisoners, or yo^w will heare of it.

[*Exit* KING, LANC. & BLUNT.²

ACT : I¹ : SCÆ : 4th.

Hot. And if the diuell come & roare for them
 I will not send them, I will after straight
 And tell hime so, for I will case my hart
 Albeit I make a hazard of my head.

Nor. What, drunke with choler, stay & pause awhile

¹ This was originally *so*.

² "Lanc. & Blunt" is added in Deryng's handwriting.

*Enter WORCESTER.*¹

Here comes yow^r vncle.

Hot. Speake of Mortimer :

Zounds I will speake of hime, & let my soule
Want mercy if I doe not joyne w^t hime
Yea on his part Ile empty all these veynes
& shed my deere blood ; drop by drop i'th dust
*But I will lift y^e downe-trodd Mortimer*²
As high in' th ayer, as this vnthankefull kinge
As this ingrate & cankred Bullingbrooke.

Nor. Brother, the king hath made yow^r nephew mad.

Wor. Who strooke this heat vp after I was gone.

Hot. He will forsooth haue all my prisoners
& when I vrg'd the ransome once agayne
Of my wiues-brother, then his cheeke lookt pale
& one my face he turn'd an eye of death
Trembling even at the name of Mortimer.

Wor. I cannot blame hime, was he not proclaym'd
By Richard that dead is, the next of blood.

Nor. He was, I heard the pclamcon
& then it was, when the vnhappie kinge
(Whose wrongs in vs God pardon) did sett forth
Vpon his Irish expedition
From whence he intercepted did returne
To be depos'd and shortly murdered.

Wor. & for whose death : we in the worlds wide-mouth
Liue scandaliz'd and foully spoken off.

Hot. But soft I pray yo^w, did king Richard then
pclayme my brother Mortimer
Heire to the crowne.

Nor. He did, myselfe did heare it :

¹ This direction is in Deryng's handwriting. The original scribe placed it seven lines lower, where it has been erased.

² This line is added in Deryng's handwriting.

Hot. Nay then I cannot blame his coosen king
 That wisht hime on the barren mountaynes starue
 But shall it be, that yo^w that sett the crowne
 Vpon the head of this forgettfull man
 And for his sake weare the detested blot
 Of murtherous subornation, shall it bee
 That yo^w a world of curses vndergoe
 Being the agents, or base second meanes
 The cords, the ladder, or the hange-man rather
 (O pardon if that I descend so low
 To shew the lyne ; & the predicament
 Wherein yow rang vnder this subtill kinge)
 Shall it for shame be spoken in these daies
 Or fill vp cronicles in time to come
 That men of yow^r nobillity and power
 Did gage them both in an vnjust behalfe
 (As both of yo^w God pardon it haue done
 To put downe Richard that sweet louely rose
 And plant this thorne : this canker Bullingbrooke
 & shall it in more shame be further spoken
 That yo^w ar fool'd, discarded, & put off
 By hime for whom these shames ye vnder-went
 No, yett time serues wherein yo^w may redeem
 Yow^r banisht honours : & restore yow^r selues
 Into the good thoughts of the world agayne
 Reveng the jeering and disdain'd contempt
 Of this proud king, who studies day & night
 To answeare all the debt he owes yo^w
 Even w^t the bloody paimentt of yow^r deathes
 Therefore I say :—

Wor. Peace coosen, saie noe more
 And now I will vnclasp a secret booke
 And to yow^r quick-conceauing discontents
 Ile read yo^w matter deep & dangerus
 As full of perrill & aduenterous spirit

As to o're-walke a current roring lowd
On the vnsteadfast footeing of a speare.

Hot. If he fall in, good night, or sinck, or swiñe
Send danger from the east vnto y^e west
So Honour crose it from the north to south
And let them grapple : the blood more stirres
To rouse a lyon : then to start a hare.

Nor. Iñagination of some great exploit
Driues hime beyond the bounds of patience

Hot. By Heauen methinkes it weare an easie leape
To plucke bright honor from the pale-fac'd moone
Or diue into the bottom of the deepe
Where fadome-lyne could neuer touch the grownd
And pluck vp drowned honer by the lockes.
So he that doth redeeme her thence might weare
W^tout corriuall all her dignities
But out apou this false fact fellowship

Wor. He aprehends a world of figures here
But not the forme of what he should attend :
Good coosen giue me audience for a while

Hot. I cry yo^w mercy

Wor. Those same noble Scots y^t ar yow^r prisoners

Hot. Ile keepe them all

By God he shall not haue a Scott of them.
No : if a Scott would saue his soule he shall not :
Ile keepe them : by this hand :

Wor. Yo^w start away

And lend noe eare vnto my purposes
Those prisoners yo^w shall keepe

Hot. Nay I will. that's flat :

He said he would not ransome Mortimer
Forbad my tongue to speak of Mortimer :
But I will find hime when he lyes a sleepe
And in his eare Ile hallow Mortimer
Nay : Ile haue a starling shall be taught to speak

Nothing but Mortimer; & giue it him
To keepe his anger still in motion

Wor. Heare yo^r coosen a word

Hot. All studies here I solemnly¹ defie
Saue how to gall and pinch this Bullingbrooke
And that same sword & buckeler prince of Wales
But that I thinke his father loues him not
And would be glad he mett w^t som mischance:
I would haue him poysoned w^t a pot of ale

Wor. Farewell kinseman: He talks to yo^r
When yo^r ar better tempered to attend

Nor. Whie what a waspe-tongue & vnpatient foole
Art thou to breake into this womans moode
Tyeing thine ear to no tongue but thin owne.

Hot. Whie looke yo^r I ame whipt and scourg'd w^t rods
Netled and stoung w^t pismires: when I heare
Of this ville pollititian Bullingbrooke
In Richards time, what doe yo^r call the place
A plague spon it, it is in Glocestershire
Twase where the mad-cap duke his vnckle kept
His vnckle Yorke: where I first bowed my knee
Vnto this king of smiles: this Bullingbrooke:
Zbloud when yo^r & he came backe from Rauenspurgh

Nor. Yo^r say true.

Hot. Whie no. at Barkly Castle.²
Whie what a candie deale of curtesie
This fawninge grey-hownd then did proffer me
Looke when his infant fortune came to age:

¹ Originally written "vtterly" Altered to "solemnely" by Sir E. Deryng.

² This and the preceding line are erased, and in their place we have, in Deryng's handwriting—

"*Nor.* Att Barkly Castle.

Hot. You say true."

And gentle Harry Percy : & kind coosen :
 O the diuell take such cooseners : God forgiue me :
 Good vncle tell yow^r tale. I haue done.

Wor. Nay if yo^w haue not, to it againe
 We will stay yow^r leasure :

Hot. I haue don yfaith :

Wor. Then once more to yow^r Scottish prisoners
 Deliuer them vp without their ransome straight :
 And make the Dowglas sonne yow^r only mean
 For powers in Scotland : w^{ch} for diuers reasons
 W^{ch} I shall send yo^w written : be assur'd
 Will easily be granted yo^w my lord
 I speake not this in estima^{co}n
 As what I thinke might be, but what I knowe
 Is ruminated, plotted, & sett downe :
 And only staies but to behold the face
 Of that occasion that shall bring it on.

Hot. I smell it, vpon my life it will doe well

Nor. Before the game's a foote thow still lets't slip.

Hot. Whie it cannot choose but be a noble plott
 And then y^e power of Scotland & of Yorke
 To joyne w^t Mortimer : ha :

Wor. And so they shall

Hot. In faith it is exceedingly well aym'd

Wor. And 'tis noe little reasone bids vs speed
 To saue our heads, by rayseing of a head
 For, beare our selues as euen as we canne
 The king will allwayes thinke hime in our debt
 And thinke, we thinke ourselues vnsatisfied
 Till he hath found a time to paie vs home
 And see alreadie how he doth begine
 To make vs strangers to his lookes of loue

Hot. He does, he does, wee be reveng'd on hime

Wor. Coosine : farewell : no further goe in this
 Then I in letters shall direct yow^r course

When time is ripe, we^{sh} will be suddenly :

He steale to Glandower & to Mortimer

Where yo^r & Douglas : & our powers at once

As I will fashion it. shall happily meett

To beare our fortunes in our owne strong armes

We^{sh} now we hold at much vncertainety

Nor. Farewell good brother, we shall thrine I trust

Hot. Vncle adue, O let the howers be short

Till fields, & blowes, & grones, aplead our sport

Exeunt

ACT : Ist.—SCÆN : 5th.

Enter Prince : POYNES

Poyn. Com shelter, shelter, I haue remooued Falstaffes horse, & he fretts like a gam'd velvet.

Prin. Stand close

Enter FALSTAFFE.

Fals. Poynes, Poynes, & be hang'd Poynes

Prin. Peace ye fat-kidneyd rascall, what a brawling dost thou keepe.

Fals. What Poynes, Hall.

Prin. He is walkt vp to the top of the hill He goe seeke him.

[Exit.]

Fals. I am acurst to rob in that theenes company : the rascall hath remoou'd my horse : & tyed him I knowe not where : if I trauell but fower foote by the squire further a foote, I shall breake my wind, well, I doubt not but to dye a faire death for all this : if I scape hanging for killing that rogue : I haue forsworne his company howeuerly any time this two & twenty yeares : & yet I am bewicht with the rogues company, if the rascall haue not giuen me medicines to make me loue

¹ This direction is in Deryng's handwriting.

hime Ile be hang'd; it could not be else: I haue drunke medicines: Poynes, Hall, a plague vpon yo^w both, Bardolfe, Peto, Ile starue ere Ile robe a foote further, and 'tweare not as good a deed as drinke, to turne true man and leaue these rogues: I am the veriest varlet that euer chewed with a tooth, eight yeards of vneuen ground, is threescore and ten miles a foote with me: And the stony-harted villaines knowe it well enough: A plague vpon it, when theenes cannot be true one to another.

*They whistle: [and enter PRINCE.]*¹

Whew, a plague apon yo^w all: giue me my horne, yo^w rogues: giue me my horse, and be hang'd:

Prin. Peace ye fatt gutts: lye downe: lay thine eare close to the grownd, and list if thou canst heare the tread of travellers.

Fals. Haue yo^w any leauens to lift me vp againe being downe: zbloud Ile not beare my owne flesh so far apace agayne for all the coyne in this fathern exchequer: What a plague meane yee to colt me thus.

Prin. Thou lvest thou art not colted thou art roasted

Fals. I prethee good prince Hall helpe me to my horse and kings sonne.

Prin. Out yo^w rogue; shall I be your carrier

Fals. Goe hange this will in thine owne haire against garters: If I be tane, Ile paye for this; and I haue not yett lads made on all, & sung to flithie women: I am a very A man be my poyson: when I am in a forward and a loose way, I hate it.

Enter BARDOLE.

Bard. Stand.

Fals. So, I doe against my ...

Poy. O tis our ... I haue not ...
deuise.

The ...

Bard. Case ye, case yee, on with yow^r vizards theres mony of the kings coming downe the hill 'tis goeing to the kings exchequer.

Fals. Yow lye yo^w rogue 'tis goeing to the King's taverne :

Bard. Theres enough to make vs all :

Fals. To be hang'd

Prin. Yo^w fower shall front them in the narrow lane Ned Poynes and I. will walk lower : if they scape from yo^w incounter then they light on vs.

Poy. But how many be there of them :

Bard. Some eight or ten

Fals. Zounds will they not rob vs

Prin. What : a coward S^r John Pawnech.

Fals. Indeed I am not John of Gant our grandfather but yet noe coward, Hall.

Prin. Well wee leaue that to the proof

Pogn. Sirra Jack, thie horse stands behind the hedge : when thou needest hime there thou shalt find hime And there stand ready Harvey, Peto, and Rossill : goe thou and Bardolffe thether : Prince Hall and I will make good the foote of the hill and between vs they cannot escape : farewell and stand fast.

Fals. Now cannot I strick hime if I should be hang'd

Exit FALSTALFF & BARDOLFF.

Prin. Ned : where ar our disguises

Pogn. Here, put on, put on :

Prin. So : Poynes looke vp the hill :¹ see what is done there : At sea the greater fish deuoures the lesse : And on the land woulues liue by killing lambes : Now when the theeues haue bound the true men : and the true men rob'd the theeues agayne : it wilbe argument for a weeke laughter for a time, and a good jest for ever.

POYNES returnes.

Poy. Come Hall goe : the theeues ar diuiding the true mens goods.

¹ Deryng here adds, *Exit Poynes.*

Prin. Come suddenly, suddenly.

*They two goe out & rob FALSTALFF & the
rest: FALSTALFF & BARDOLF runne away
ouer the stage as FALST. goes he speakes,
O cowardly prince & Poynes, where ar they?*

ACT: I—SCÆN: 6th.

Enter againe Prince & POYNES.

Prin. Gott with much ease: Now merily to horse: the
theenes ar scattered, and possest with feare so strongly that
they dare not meet each other: each takes his fellow for an
officer: Away good Ned: Falstalde sweares to death: and lards
the leane earth as hee wallkes along: wear't not for laughinge
I should pittie hime

Poyn. How the rogue roar'd

Exeunt

ACT: II^d—SCÆN: 1^a.

Enter HOTSPUR solus: reading a letter.

“ But for my owne part. my lord. I could be well contented
“ to be there: in respect of the loue I beare yow^r howse ”

He could be contented: whie is he not then: in the respect of
the loue he beares our howse he showes in this: that he loues
his owne barne better then he loues our howse: Lett me see
some more

“ The purpose yow vnder-take is dangerus ”

Whie that's certaine: 'tis daungerus to take a cold: to sleep, to
drinke, (but I tell yo^w (my lord foole) out of this nettle danger:
wee pluck this flower safty.

“ The purpose yow vndertake is dangerous: the friends yow

“ haue named vncertaine: the time itselfe vnsorted, and yow
 “ whole plot to light. for the counterpoise of so greate an oppo-
 “ sition.”

Say yo^w so: say yo^w so: I saie vnto yo^w agayne: yo^w ar a shal-
 low cowardly hinde: and yo^w lye: what a lak-braine is this; by
 the Lord our plot is a good plot as euer was layd: our frind
 true and constant: A good plot: good frinds: and full of
 expectation: an excellent plott: verry good friends: what a frosty
 spirited rogue is this: whie: My lord of York commends the
 plot: and the generall course of this action: Zounds and I
 weare nowe by this rascall. I could brayne hime with his ladies
 fanne: is there not my father: my vncle and my selfe: Lord
 Edmond Mortimer: My lord of York: and Owen Glendower:
 is there not besides the Dowglas: haue I not all theire letters
 to meet me in armes by the ninth of the next month: And ar
 not some of them sett forward alreadie what a pagan rascall is
 this: and Infidell Ha: yo^w shall see now in verry sincerity of
 feare & cold hart: will he to the king: and lay open all our
 proceedings: O I could diuid my selfe: and goe to buffetts for
 moueing such a dish of skime milke, with so honerable an
 action: hang hime: Lett hime tell the kinge: we ar prepard.
 I will sett forward to night.

Enter his Ladie

How now Kate: I must leaue yo^w within these two howers.

Ladi. O my good lord: whie are yo^w thus alone
 For what offence haue I this fortnight bine
 A banisht woman from my Harryes bed?
 Tell me sweet lord what ist that takes from thee
 Thie stomake: pleasure: and thie golden sleepe:
 Whie dost thou bend thine eyes vpon the earth
 & start so often when thou set'st alone?
 Whie hast thou lost the fresh blood in thie cheekes
 & giuen my treasures & my rights of thee

To thick-ey'd musing ; & curst malancholly
 In my faint slumbers : I by thee haue ¹ watcht :
 & heard thee murmur tales of iron wares
 Speake tearmes of mānag to thie bounding steed
 Cry courrag to the feild : & thow hast talkt
 Of sallies & retires ; trenches : tents :
 Of pallizadoes, frontiers : parapetts :
 Of basiliskes : of cannon culuerine
 Of prisoners ransome : & of souldiers slaine
 And all the current of a heddy fight
 Thie spirit within thee hath beene so at warre
 & thus hath so bestirr'd thee in thie sleep
 That beds of sweat hath stood vpo thie brow.
 Like bubbles in a late disturbed streame
 & in thie face strang motions haue apear'd
 Such as wee see when men restraine theire breath
 On some great suddaine hast : O what portents ar these
 Some heavy busines hath my lord in hand
 & I must know it : else he loues me not.

Enter a seruant.

Hot. What ho : is Gilliams w^t the packet gone

Ser. He is my lord : an hower agoe

Hot. Hath Buttler brought those horses from the Shreiffe

Ser. One horse . my lord : he brought euen now

Hot. What horse : a roane : a crop eare is it not ?

Ser. It is my lord

Hot. That roane shall be my throane : well : I will backe
 hime straight : Esperance : bid Buttler leade hime forth into
 the parke.

Exit seruaunt.

Lad. But heare yo^r my lord

Hot. What sayest thow my ladie ?

¹ Added by Sir E. Deryug.

² This direction is by Deryug

Lad. What is it carries yo^r away?

Hot. Whie my horse (my loue) my horse:

Lady. Out yo^r mad-headed ape: a weasle hath not such a deale of spleene as yo^r ar tost with: In faith Ile knowe yow^r busines Harry: that I will: I feare: my brother Mortimer doeth stirre about his title, and hath sent for yo^r to lyme his enterprise: but if yo^r goe:—

Hot. So far a foote: I shall be weary: loue.

Lady. Come, come, yo^r paraquito: answears me
Directly to this question that I shall aske

Hot. Away. away yo^r trifier: loue: I loue thee not
I care not for thee. Kate: this is no world
To play w^t mammetts: & to tilt w^t lips
We must haue bloody noses: & crackt crownes
& passe them current too, Gods me my horse
What saiest thou Kate: what would'st thou haue w^t me

Lady. Doe not yo^r loue me: doe yo^r not indeed
Well: doe not then: for since yo^r loue me not
I will not loue myselfe: doe yo^r not loue me:
Nay: tell me if yo^r speake in jest or no!

Hot. Come wilt thou see me ride
& when I ame a horse-backe I will sweare
I loue thee infinittly: but hark yo^r Kate,
I must not haue yo^r henceforth question me
Whether I goe: nor reason wheare about
Whether I must: I must: & to conclud
This euening must I leaue yo^r gentle Kate.
I know yo^r wise: but yet noe farther wise
Then Harry Perceys wif: constant yo^r ar
But yet a woman: & for secrecy
Noe lady closer; for I will beleene
Thow wilt not vtter what thou dost not knowe
& so fare will I trust thee gentle Kate

Lady. How: so far:

Hot. Not an inch further; but harke yo^r Kate

Whether I goe : thither shall yo^w goe too :
 To daie will I sett forth : tomorrow yo^w
 Will this content yo^w Kate ?

Lady. It must of force :

Exeunt

ACT : II^d. SCÆN : 2^d.

Enter Prince & POYNES.

Prin. Ned prethee come out of that fatt roome & lend me
 thie hand to laugh a little :

Poy. Where hast beene Hall ?

Prin. With three or fower logger-heads : amongs't three or
 fower-score hogges-heads : I haue sownded the verry bace-
 string of humillity. Sirra : I ame sworne brother to a leach of
 drawers and *can call them*¹ all by their Christian names ; as
 Tom, Dick, & Francis ; they take it already upon there
 salluation, that though I be but Prince of Wales : yett I ame
 the king of curtesie : and tell me flat I ame not proud Jack,
 like Falstafte, but a Corinthian, a lad of mettall, a good boy,
 (by the Lord so they call me) and when I ame King of
 England : I shall command all the good lads in East-cheape,
 they call drinking deepe : dieing scarlett : & when yo^w breath
 in yow^r wattering : they crye hem : & bid yo^w play it off. to
 conclude : I ame so good a proficient in on quarter of an
 hower ; that I can drinke with any tincker in his owne
 language dureing my lyfe. I tell thee Ned : thou hast lost
 much honour that thou weant not w^t me in this action but
 sweet Ned : to sweeten this name of Ned : I giue thee this
 peny-worth of sugar : Clapt euen now into my hand by an
 vnder skinker : on that neuer spake other English in his life
 then eight shillings and sixe pence : and yo^w ar wellcom w^t this
 shrill addition anon, anon : sir : Score a pint of Bastard in the

¹ Originally, "they call me."

halfe moone or so: but Ned: to drine away the time till Falstafte come I prethee doe thow stand in some by-roome: while I question my puny drawer: to what end he gaue me the sugar: and doe neuer leaue calling Francis: that his tale to me may be nothing but anon; step aside, & Ile shew the a present.

Poy. Francis

Prin. Thow art perfitt

Poy. Francis

Enter Drawer.

Draw. Anon, anon, sir: Looke downe into y^e pomgarnet Ralfe.

Prin. Come hither Francis:

Fran. My lord.

Prin. How long hast thow to serue Francis?

Fran. Forsooth fve yeares, & as much as to—

Poy. Francis:

Fran. Anon: anon sir:

Prin. Fve yeares: berlady a long lease for the clinckeing of pewter; but Francis, darest thow be so valiant as to playe the coward w^t thie indenture and shew it a faire payer of heeles and runne from it.

Fran. O Lord sir. Ile be sworne upon all the bookes in England: I could find in my hart

Poy. Francis.

Fran. Anon sir.

Prin. How old art thow Francis?

Fran. Let me see: about Michaelmas next I shall be—

Poy. Francis

Fran. Anon sir: pray stay yo^w a little my lord.

Prin. Nay but harke yo^w Francis: for the sugar thow ganest me: twas a peny-worth was't not?

Fran. O Lord. I would it had been two:

Prin. I will giue thee for it a thowsand pownd: aske me when thou wiltt & thou shalt haue it.

Poyn. Francis

Fran. Anon, anon.

Prin. Anon Francis: no Francis: but tomorrow Francis: or Francis, on Thursday, or indeed Francis: when thou wilt, but Francis.

Fran. My lord.

Prin. Wilt thou rob this leatherne jerkin: christall button; not-pated, agat-ring, Puck-stockeing: Cadice-garter, smooth tongue, Spanish pouch

Fran. O Lord sir, who doe yo^w meane:

Prin. Whie then, yow^r brown bastard is yow^r only drinke: for looke yo^w Francis, yow^r white canvasse doubled will sully. In Barbary it will not com to so much.

Poyn. Francis

Fran. What sir

Prin. Away yo^w rogue, dost thou not heare hime call?

Here they both call hime: the Drawer stands amazed: not knoweing w^{ch} way to goe.¹

Enter Vintner.

Vint. What: stands't thou still; and hears't such a calling: Looke to the ghests within. My lord old Sir John with halfe a dozen more, are at the dore: shall I lett them inn?

Prin. Lett them alon awhile, and then open the dore. Poynes!

Enter POYNES.

Poyn. Anon, anon sir:

¹ Instead of this direction, Deryng has written, "*Exit Drawer.*" The two next speeches, here given to the Vintner and the Prince, are scratched through, and Sir E. D. inserts in their place,—

"*Prince.* Poynes!"

Prin. Sirra Falstalfe, *and the rest of the theeues are at the dore :*¹ shall we be merry ?

Poyn. As merry as cricketts my lad. but harke yee what cunning match haue yo^w made with this jest of the drawer : com : what's the issue ?

Prin. I ame now of all humors that haue shewed themselves humors : since the old daies of goodman Adam ; to the pupill age of this present twelue a clock at night : what's a clock ? Francis :

Fran. Anon. anon sir. (*Within*)²

*Prin.*³ That euer this fellow should haue fewer words then a parret ; and yett the sonne of a woman : his industry is vp stayers : and downe stayers : his eloquence the parcell of a reckoning : I am not yett of Perceys mynd ; the Hotspur of the North ; he that kills me some six or seauen dozen of Scotts at a breakfast : washes his hands and sayes to his wife ; fie vpō this quiet lyfe : I want worke. O my sweet Harry saies shee, how many hast thow kill'd to daie ? giue my roane horse a drinke saies : and answeares, some forteene an hower after. A trifle : a trifle : I prethee call in Falstalfe, Ile play Percy ; and that damn'd brawne shall play dame Mortimer his wife : Riueo sayes the drunkard : Call in ribs : call in tallow.

ACT : II^d. SCÆN : 3th.

*Enter FALSTALFE & BARDOLFE.*⁴

Poyn. Wellcome Jacke, where hast thow beene ?

Fals. A plague of all cowards I saie ; and a vengeance to :

¹ Instead of the sentence in Italics, Deryng writes, "will be heere anon."

² Added by Deryng.

³ Deryng here adds, "Call in Falstaffe."

⁴ Deryng has added, "and Francis."

Mary and amen : giue me a cup of sack boy :¹ ere I leade this life longe ; Ile sowe nether-stockes, and mend them ; and foote them too. A plague of all cowards ; giue me a cup of sacke Rogue ; is there noe vertue extant.

Prin. Did'st thou neuer see Titan kisse a dish of butter : pittifull harted Titan ; that melted at the sweet tale of the sunne ; if thou did'st then behold that compound :

Fals. Yo^w rogue ; here's lyme in the sacke too ; there is nothing but rogerie to be found in villanous man : yett a coward is worse then a cupe of sacke with lyme in it. A villanous coward : goe thie wayes old Jacke ; dye when thou wilt : if manhood good manhood be not forgott vpon the face of the earth ; then am I a shotten-herring ; there liues not three good men vnhang'd in England. And on of them is fatt and growes old : God help the while : a bad world I say. I would I weare a weauer : I could singe psalmes or any thinge. A plague of all cowards I saie still.

Prin. How now wolsacke whate mutter yo^w.

Fals. A kings sonn : if I doe not beate the out of thie kingdome with a dagger of lath : a driue all thie subjects before thee ; like a flock of wild-geese. Ile neuer weare hare on my face more : yo^w Prince of Wales :

Prin. Whie yo^w horson round man : what's the matter.

Fals. Ar yo^w not a coward : answeare me to that : & Poynes there.

Prin. Zounds yo^w² fatt pawuch : and yee call me coward Ile stabe thee. *I'le take say of yee.*³

Fals. I call thee coward : Ile see thee damn'd ere I call thee coward : but I would giue a thowsand pownd I could runne as fast as thou cans't ye ar straight enough in the shoulders ; yo^w

¹ *Exit Francis and enters with sacke and a glasse.*—E. D.

² "Thou" is written over this word, and also over "yee," the fourth word following.

³ In Deryng's handwriting.

care not who sees yo^wr backe : call yo^wr that baking of yow^r friends. A plague of such backing : giue me them that will face me : giue me a cup of sacke. I am a villaine if I drunk to daie.

Prin. O villaine thie lips ar scarce wip'd scince thow drunkenest last.

Fals. All's on for that.

*He drinkes.*¹

A plague of all cowards still I say.

Prin. What's the matter :

Fals. What's the matter : here be fower of vs haue tane a thowsand pownds this morning.

Prin. Where is it Jacke : where is it :

Fals. Where is it : taken from vs it is : an hundreth vpon poore fower of vs.

Prin. What : an hundred man :

Fals. I am a rogue if I weare not at half sword with a dozen of them two howers together. I haue scaped by miracle. I ame eight times thrust through the doublett ; fower through the hose : my buckeler cutt through and through : my sword hackt like a handsaw *Ecce signum* : I neuer dealt better scince I was a man : all would not doe : a plague of all cowards : lett Bardolfe speake if he speake more or lesse then truth he is a villaine & the sonn of darknes.

Prin. Speake sirra how was it :

Bar. Fower of vs sett vpon some dozen.

Fals. Sixteen at least my lord and bound them.

Bard. No. no. they weare not bound.

Fals. Yo^wr rogue they weare bound : euey man of them or I am a Jew else : An Ebrew Jew :

Bard. As we weare shareing : some six or seauen fresh men sett vpon vs.

Fals. And vubound the rest : and then com in the other.

¹ *Exit Francis*, added by Deryng.

Prin. What fought ye w^t them all.

Fals. All: I know not what yee call all; but if I fought not with fifty of them I am a bunch of radish: if there weare not two or three and fifty vpon poore old Jake, then ame I noe two leg'd creature.

Poy. Pray God yo^r haue not murthered som of them.

Fals. Nay that's past praying for: I haue pepered two of them; two of them I ame sure I haue paid: two rogues in buckerom sutes: I tell thee what Hall; if I tell thee a lye, spitt in my face, call me horse: thow knowest my old word: here I laye; and thus I bore my poynt: fower rogues in buckrom lett driue at me.

Prin. What fower: thow saids't but two euen now.

Fals. Fower Hall: I told thee fower.

Poy. I. I. he said fower.

Fals. These fower came all afront and maynly thrust at me: I made noe more adoe but tooke all their seauen poynes in my targett thus.

Prin. Seauen; whie there weare but fower euen now.

Fals. In buckerom:

Poy. I fower in buckrome sutes

Fals. Seauen: by these hilts: or I am a villaine else:

Prin. Prethee lett hime alone: we shall haue more anon.

Fals. Dost thow heare me Hall:

Prin. I, and marke thee too Jacke

Fals. Do so, for it is worth the listning to; those nyne in buckrom that I told thee off.

Prin. So two more already

Fals. Theire poynts being broken:

Poy. Downe fell his hose:

Fals. Began to giue me grownd: but I followed me close: came in foote and hand, and with a thought seauen of the eleuen I paid.

Prin. O monstras: eleuen buckrom men growne out of two.

Fals. But as the diuell would haue it ; three misbegotten knaues in Kendall green. came at my backe and lett driue at me : for it was so darke Hall : that thow could'st not see thie hand.

Prin. These lyes ar like the father that begetts them grosse as a mountaine : open : palpable : whie thow clay-braind gutts ; thow knotted-pated-foole thow horson obscene greasie tallow catch.¹

Fals. What : art thow mad : art thow mad : is not the truth the truth :

Prin. Whie how could'st thow know these men in Kendall greene when it was so darke thow could'st not see thie hand : come tell us yow^r rason what saiest thow to this.

Poyn. Come, yow^r reason Jake. yow^r reason :

Fals. What vpon compulsion. Zounds and I weare at the strappado, or all the rackes in the world : I would not tell yo^w on compulsion : giue yo^w a reason on compulsion, if reasons weare as plenty as blackeberries : I would giue noe man a reason on compulsion : I.

Prin. Ile be noe longer guilty of this sinne : this sanguine coward : this bed-presser, this horseback-breaker this huge hill of flesh.

Fals. Zbloud yo^w starueling : yo^w elfskin : yo^w dri'd neats tongue, bulls-pizell : yo^w stock-fish : O for breath to vtter ; what is like thee : yo^w taylors yard : yo^w sheath : yo^w bowcase, yo^w vile standing tucke

Prin. Well breath a whill, and then to it againe : and when thow hast tryed thie selfe in bace comparisons : heare me speak but thus.

Poyn. Marke Jacke :

Prin. We two, saw yo^w fower, sett on fower and bownd them ; and weare maisters of their wealth. Marke now what

¹ This word is altered to "chest" by the original scribe, and in the same hand as the rest of the MS.

a plaine tale shall putt yo^w downe : then did we two sett on yo^w fower and w^t a word out-fac'd yo^w from yow^r prize : And haue it : yea, and can shew it yo^w here in the howse : and Falstalffe yo^w carried away yow^r gutts as nimbly with as quick dexterity and roared for mercy. and still runne : and roare : as euer I hard bull-calfe : whatt a slaue art thou to hack thie sword as thou hast don : and then saie it was in fight : what tricke : what diuise : what starting hole canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and aparant shame.

Poyn. Come letts't heare Jacke ; what tricke hast thou nowe :

Fals. By the Lord I knewe ye as well as He that made yo^w : whie heare yo^w my maisters, was it for me to kill the heire aparant : should I turne vpon the true prince : whie thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules : but beware instinct : the lyon will not touch the true prince, instinct is a great matter. I was a coward, on instinct : I shall thinke of myselfe and thee the better dureing my whole life. I for a valiant lyon : and thou for a true prince : but by the Lord lads, I ame glad yo^w haue the mony : hostesse clap to the dores : watcht to night : pray tomorrow : Gallants, lads, boyes, harts of gold, all the titles of good fellowship com to yo^w : What shall we be merry shall we haue a play extempore.

Prin. Content and the argument shalbe : thie running away.

Fals. A : no more of that Hall & thou louest me

Enter HOSTESSE.

Hos. O Jesue : my lord the prince :

Prin. How now my ladie the hostesse : whatt saiest thou to me ?

Hos. Marry my lord there's a noble man of the court at dore, would speake with yo^w he saies he comes from yow^r father.

Prin. Giue hime as much as will make hime a royall man and send hime backe againe to my mother.

Fals. What manner of man is he :

Hos. An old man.

Fals. What doth grauity out of his bed at midnight : shall I giue hime his answeare :

Prin. Prethee doe Jacke.

Fals. Faith and Ile send hime packeing :

Exit FALS.

Prin. Now : sirs : Berlady yo^w fought faire : Bardolffe, yo^w ar a lion to : yo^w run away apon instinct : yo^w will not touch the true prince : noe fye.

Bard. Faith I ran when I saw others runne :

Prin. Faith tell me now in earnest how cam Falstalffes sword so hackt :

Bard. Why he hackt it with his dagger : and said he would sweare truth out of England, but he would make yo^w beleue it was don in fight : and perswaded vs to doe the like.¹ I blusht to heare his monstrous devises.

Prin. O villaine thow stolest a cup of sacke eightteene years agoe : and weart taken with the manner & euer scince thow hast blusht extempore : thow hads't fire and sword on thie side and yet thou runs't away : what instinct hadst thow for it.

Bard. My lord, doe yo^w see these meteors ; doe yo^w behold these exhalations :

Prin. I doe.

Bard. What thinke yo^w they portend :

Prin. Hott liuers and cold purses.

Bard. Choler my lord ; if rightly taken.

Enter FALSTALFF.

Prin. No if rightly taken, halter : here comes leane Jacke : here comes bare-bone : how now my sweet creature of bombast ; how long ist agoe Jack scince thow sawest thine owne knee :

¹ Deryng has written in the margin, "vide printed booke."

Fals. My owne knee: when I was about thie yeares (Hall) I was not an eagles talent in the waste: I could haue crept into any aldermans thumb-ring: a plague of sighing and greefe it blowes a man vp like a bladder: there's villanous news abroad: here was sir John Braby from yow^r father: yo^w must goe to the court in the morning: the same mad fellowe of the North, Percey, and he of Wales that gaue Amanon the bastinado, and made Lucifer cuckhold; and swore the diuell his true liedgman vpon the crosse of a welsh hooke. What a plague call yow hime?

Poyn. Owen Glendower:

Fals. Owen, Owen, the same and his sonne in lawe Mortimer: and old Northumberland and the sprightly Scot of Scotts: Dowglas that runnes a horse-backe vp a hill perpendicular.

Prin. He that rids at high speed, and with a pistoll kills a sparrow flyeing.

Fals. Yo^w haue hit it.

Prin. So did he neuer the sparrow:

Fals. Well: that rascall hath good mettall in hime he will not runne.

Prin. Whie what a rascall art thou then to prayse hime so for runing.

Fals. A horsbacke (ye cuckoe) but a foote he will not budge a foote.

Prin. Yes Jacke vpon instinct.

Fals. I grant ye vpon instinct: well hee is there too & one Mordake and a thowsand blew-caps more. Worcester is stollen away by night; thie fathers beard is turned whitte w^t the newes: yo^w may buy land now as cheape as stincking mackrell.

Prin. Then tis like if there come a hott sunn, & this ciuill buffetting hold we shall buy maiden-heads as they buy hobnayles, by the hundreds.

Fals. By the masse lad thou saiest true: it is like we shall

haue good trading that way : but tell me Hall : art not thou horrible afear'd, thou being heire aparant : Could the world picke out three such enymies againe. as that fiend Dowglas, that spirit Percy, and that diuell Glendower : art not thou horrible afraide : doth not thie blood thrill at it :

Prin. Not a whitte efaith : I lacke some of thie instinct

Fals. Well thou wilt be horrible chidd tomorrow when thou comest to thie father : if thou doe loue me practis an answere :

Prin. Doe thou stand for my father & examyne me vpon the perticulars of my life.

Fals. Shall I : Content : this chaire shall be my state : this dagger my septer, & this cushion my crowne :

Prin. Thie state is taken for a joynd-stoole : thie golden septer for a leaden dagger : & thie pretious rich crown for a pittifull bauld crowne.

Fals. Well & the fire of grace be not quite out of thee now shalt thou be mooued : giue me a cupe of sacke to make myn eyes looke red, that it may be thought I haue wept : for I must speake in passion & I will doe it in kinge Cambises vayne

Prin. Well here is my legg :

Fals. And here is my speach : stand aside nobility

Hos. O Jesu : this is excellent sport ifaith :

Fals. Weepe not sweet Queen : for trickling teares are vaine.

Hos. O the father how he holdes his countenance :

Fals. For God's sake lords convey my tristfull queene :
For teares doe stop the flood-gates of her eyes :

Hos. O Jesu : he doth it as like on of these harlotry players as euer I see.

Fals. Peace good pint-pott : peace good tickle braine : Harry : I doe not only marvell where thou spendest thie time, but also how thou art accompany'd . for though the cammome the more it is troden on, the faster it growes, yett youth the more it is wasted the sooner it weares. Thou art my sonne. I haue

ptly thie mothers word, partly my^r owne opinion : but cheifly a villanous trick of thine eye, & a foolish hanging of thie neather lip that doth warrant me ; if then, thow be sonne to me, here lyeth the poynt : whie being sonne to me art thow so poynted at : shall the blessed sonne of Heauen proue a micher, and eate blackberryes : a question not to be askt :¹ there is a thing Harry which thow hast often heard of & it is knowñ to many in our land by the name of pitch ; this pitch (as ancient writters doe report) doth defille : so doth the company thow keepest : for Harry, now I doe not speake to thee in drinke, but in teares, not in pleasure, but in passion ; not in words only, but in woe allso, & yet there is a vertuous man whom I haue often noted in thie company but I know not his name.

Prin. What manner of man, & it like yow^r maiesty

Fals. A goodly portly man Ifaith & a corpulent, of a cheerefull looke, a pleasing eye, & a most noble cariag : & as I thinke his age some fiftie or beerlady inclyning to three-score : & now I remember me his name is Falstaffe : if that man should be lewdly giuen he deceiues me, for Harry I see vertue in his lookes : if then the tree may be knowne by the fruite : as the fruite by the tree : then peremptorily I speake it, there is vertue in that Falstalffe : hime keep w^t ; the rest banish : & tell me now thow naughty varlet, tell me where hast thow beene this month :

Prin. Dost thow speake like a king : doe thow stand for me, and Ile play my father. *Exit HOSTESSE.*²

Fals. Depose me, if thow dost it halfe so grauely, so maicstically both in word & matter : hang me vp by the heeles for a rabbit-sucker, or a poulters hare.

Prin. Well, here I ame sett :

¹ Deryng adds in the margin, probably from the printed copy, "Shall y^e sonne of England proue a theife and take purses, a question to be ask't."

² In Deryng's handwriting.

Fals. & here I stand : Judge my masters :

Prin. Now Harry : whence com yow :

Fals. My noble lord, from East-cheape :

Prin. The complaints I heare of thee are greevions.

Fals. Zblood my lord, they are false, nay lle tickle ye for a young prince I faith :

Prin. Swearest thou, vngracious boy, henceforth nere looke on me : thou art violently caried away from grace, there is the diuell haunts thee in y^e likenes of a fatt old man : A tun of man in thie company : whie dost thou converse w^t that truncke of humors, that boulting-hutch of beastlines, that swolne parcell of dropsies, that huge bombard of sacke, that stuff cloke-bag of gutts, that rosted Manning-tree oxe w^t the pudding in his belly, that reverent vice, that graye iniquity, that father Ruffan, that vanity in years wherein is he good, but to tast sacke & drink it : wherein neat & cleäly but to carue a capon & eate it : wherein cunning but in craft : wherein crafty but in villanny : wherein villanous, but in all things : wherein worthie, but in nothing :

Fals. I would yow^r grace would take me w^t yo^w
Whome meanes yow^r grace.

Prin. That villanous abhominable misleader of youth Falstalffe, that old whitte-bearded Sathan

Fals. My lord, the man I know

Prin. I know thou dost :

Fals. But to say, I know more harme in him then in my selfe weare to saie more then I knowe ; that he is old, (the more the pittie) his whitte hares doe wittnes it, but that he is (sauing yow^r reverence) a whore-master, that I vtterly deny : if sacke & sugar be a fault, God help the wicked ; if to be old & merry be a sinne, then many an old host that I know is damn'd : if to be fatt to be hated, then Pharos leane kine are to be loued : no my good lord. banish Peto, banish Bardolfie, banish Poynes, but for sweet Jacke Falstalffe, kind Jake Falstalffe, true Jake Falstalffe, valiant Jake Falstalffe, &

therefore more valient being as he is old Jake Falstalffe : banish not hime thie Harryes company, banish not hime thie Harryes company : banish plump Jak & banish all the world.

*Enter FRANCIS runninge.*¹

Prin. I doe, I will :

Fran. O my lord, my lord : the shreife w^t a most monstrous match is at the dore.

Fals. Out yo^w rogue, playe out the play : I haue much to say in the behoofe of that Falstalffe :

Enter the hostesse.

Hos. O Jesu, my lord, my lord.

Poyn. Heigh, heigh, y^e diuell rids vpon a fiddle-stick : what's the matter

Hos. The shreife & all the watch ar at the dore : they are come to shearch the howse : shall I lett them in :

Fals. Do thow heare Hall ; neuer call a true peece of gold counterfeit : thou art essentially made w^tout seeming so.

Prin. And thow a naturall coward w^tout instinct :

Fals. I deny yow^r Maior, if yow'le deny the sherife : so : if not : lett hime enter : if I become not a carte as well as an other man. A plague on my bringing vp : I hope I shall be as soone strangled with a halter, as another :

Prin. Goe hid thee behind the arras : the rest walke vp aboue : now my maisters, for a true face & good conscience.

Fals. Both w^{ch} I haue had, but there date is out, & therefore Ile hide me.

Prin. Call in the sherife.²

¹ Some slight erasures have here been made, but the original text afterwards restored.

² Deryng has added the following direction—*Exeunt Poynes and Bardolff : Exit Hostes. Falstaff hides himself.*

Enter Sherife

Prin. Now maister sherife, what is yow^r will w^t me

Sherif. First pardon me my lord, a hue & cry hath followed certaine men vnto this howse.

Prin. What men

Shrei. On of them is well knowne my gracious lord : a grosse fatt man, as fatt as butter.

Prin. The man I doe asure yo^w is not here
For I my selfe ; at this time haue imploy'd hime
& sherife I will ingage my word to thee
That I will by to-morrow dinner-time
Send hime to answeare thee ; or any man :
For anything ; he shall be charg'd w^t all
& so lett me intreate yo^w leaue the howse

Sherif. I will my lord : there are two gentlemen
Haue in this robbery lost three hundreth markes.

Prin. It may be so : if he haue rob'd these men
He shall be answeareable ; & so farewell.

Sheri. Good-night, my noble lord.

Prin. I thinke it is good morrow is it not.¹

Sheri. I think my lord indeed it be two a'clocke.

Exit Sherife

Prin. This oylie rascall is knowne as well as Poules : goe call hime forth.

Poyn. Falstafe : fast asleep behind the arras & snorting like a horse.

Prin. Harke how hard he fetches breath : Search his pocketts.

He searches his pocketts & findeth certaine papers.

Prin. What hast thow found :

¹ This line and the next are crased, and *Enter Poynes* added in Deryng's handwriting.

Poyn. Nothing but papers my lord :

Prin. Letts see what be they ; read them :

Item a caponto shillingstwopence.

It. saucefower-pence

It. sack : two gallonsfiue shillings eight-pence

It. Anchoues & sacke after supper .. two shillings six-pence

It. breada half-peny

O monstrous ; but on halfe-peny-worth of bread to this intolerable deale of sack ; what there is else keepe close : weell read it at more aduantage : there lett hime sleep till day ; Ile to the Court in the morning : we must all to the wañes & thie place shalbe honerable. Ile pcure this fatt rogue a charge of foote ; & I know his death will be a match of twellue score : the mony shalbe paid backe againe w^t aduantage ; be w^t me be-times in the morning & so *good morrou*,¹ Poyues.

Poyn. *Good morrou*,² good my lord

Exeunt

ACT : IIIrd : SCÆN: 1^a.

Enter HOTSPUR, WORCESTER, LORD MORTIMER,
OWEN GLENDOWER

Mor. These pmisses are faier ; the pties sure
& our inducktion full of prosperous hopes :

Hot. Lord Mortimer & cozen Glendower ; will yo^w sitt downe & Vncle Worcester. A plague vpon it : I haue forgott the map.

Glen. No here it is : sitt coosen Percy, sitt good coosen Hotspur for by that name as oft as Lancaster doth speake of yow his cheeke lookes pale : & w^t a rising sigh ; he wisheth yo^w in heauen.

¹ Altered by Deryng to "farewell."

² Altered by Deryng to "Good night."

Hot. & yo^w in hell, as oft as he heares Owen Glendower spoke off :

Glen. I cannot blame hime : at my natiuity
The front of Heauen was full of firy shapes
Of burning cressetts ; & at my birth
The frame & fowndation of the earth
Shak'd like a coward.

Hot. Whie so it would haue don at the same season, if
yow^r mothers cat had but kittned ; though yow^r selfe had
neuer been borne

Glen. I say the earth did shake when I was borne

Hot. & I saie the earth was not of my mynd
If yo^w suppose as feareing yow ; it shooke.

Glen. The heauens weare all on fire, the earth did tremble

Hot. Oh then then the earth shooke, to see the heauens
on fire ;

& not in feare of yow^r natiuity :

Diseaced nature often times breakes forth
In strang eruptions ; & the teeming earth
Is with a kind of collike pincht & vext
By the imprisoning of vnruly wind
Within her wombe ; which for inlargement striucing
Shakes the old beldom earth & toples downe
Steeple & mosgrowne towers ; at yow^r birth
Our grandam earth ; haueing distemperature in pashion shooke.

Glen. Coosen of many men

I doe not beare these crosses ; giue me leaue
To tell yo^w once againe, that at my birth
The front of heauen was full of firy shapes
The goates ran from the mountaines & the heards
Weare strangely clamorous, to the frighted feilds
These signes haue markt me extraordinary
& all the courses of my life doe shew
I ame not in the roll of cominon men :
Where is the liueing clipt in w^t the sea

That chids the bankes of England : Scotland & Wales :
 Which calls me pupill : or hath reade to me
 & bring hime out that is but womans sonne
 Can trace me in the tedious wayes of art
 & hold me pace in deepe experiments

Hot. I thinke there's noe man speakes better welsh :
 Ile to dinner.

Mor. Peace coosine Percy : yo^w will make hime mad.

Glen. I can call spiritts from the wasty deepe.

Hot. Whie so can I, or so can any man,
 But will they come, when yo^w doe call them.

Glen. Whie I can teach thee coosine to coñmand the diuell.

Hot. And I can teach thee coosine, to shame the diuell
 By telling truth ; tell truth, & shame the diuell
 If thow haue power to raise hime ; bring hime hither,
 & Ile be sworne I haue power to shame hime hence.
 O whill yo^w liue, tell truth, & shame the diuell.

Mor. Come, come ; noe more of this vuproffitable chatt

Glen. Three times hath Henry Bullingbrook made head
 Against my power ; thris from the bankes of wye
 & sandy bottom'd Severne haue I sent hime
 Bootles home ; & weather-beatten backe.

Hot. Home w^t out boots : & in foule weather too
 How scapes the agues in the diuells name.

Glen. Come, heres the map, shall wee diuid our right
 According to our threefold order tane :

Mor. The Arch-deakon hath diuided it
 Into three limitts verry equally
 England from Trent, & Severne hither too
 By south & east is to my pt assign'd
 All westward, Wales beyound the Severne shore
 And all the firtill land w^t in that bound
 To Owen Glendower ; & deare coose to yo^w
 The remnant northward lying off from Trent
 & our Indentures tripartite ar drawne

Which being scealed entechañgably
 (A busines that this night may execute)
 To morrow coosine Percy ; yo^w & I
 & my good lord of Worcester will sett forth
 To meet yo^wr father & the Scottish power
 As is apoynted vs at Shrewsbury
 My father Glendower is not ready yett
 Nor shall we need his help ; these foreteene daies
 W^t in that space : yo^w may haue drawne together
 Yow^r tennants ; friends, & neighbouring gentlemen

Glen. A shorter time shall send me to yo^w lords
 & in my conduct shall yow^r ladies come
 From whom yo^w now must steale ; & take no leaue
 For there will be a world of watter shed
 Vpon the parting of yow^r wiues & yo^w :

Hot. Methinkes my moity North from Burton here
 In quantity equales not one of yowrs :
 See, how this riuer comes me cranking in
 & cutts me from the best of all my land
 A huge halfe moone, a monstrous scantle out :
 Ile haue the current in this place damnd vp
 & here the snuug & silluer Trent shall runne
 In a new chanell ; faire & euenly :
 It shall not wind w^t such a deep indent
 To rob me of so rich a bottome here.

Glen. Not winde : it shall, it must, yo^w see it doth :

Mor. Yea : but mark how he beares his course & runs me
 vp ; w^t like aduantag ; on the other side, gelding the opposed
 continent, as much as from the other side, it takes from yo^w :

Wor. Yea, but a little charg will trench hime here
 & on this north-side, winn this cap of land
 & then he runs straight & euen :

Hot. Ile haue it so : A little charge will doe it

Glen. Ile not haue it altered :

Hot. Will not yo^w :

Glen. No : nor yo^w shall not :

Hot. Who shall saie me nay :

Glen. Whie that will I :

Hot. Lett me not vnderstand yo^w then ; speake it in Welsh

Glen. I can speake English : lord : as well as yo^w

For I was train'd vp in the English court

Where being but young I framed to the harpe

Many an English ditty, louely well :

& gaue the tongue ; a helpfull ornament :

A vertue that was neuer seene in yo^w

Hot. Marry & I am glad of it w^t all my hart

I had rather be a kitten & crye mew ;

Then on of these same mitter ballet-mongers :

I had rather heare ; a brasen canstick turn'd

Or a dry wheele grate on the axle-tree :

& that would sett my teeth nothing an edge

Nothing so much as minsing poetry :

'Tis like the forse gate of a shuffling nage :

Glen. Com : yow shall haue Trent turn'd

Hot. I doe not care ; Ile giue thris so much land
To any well deserueing friend :

But in the way of bargaine, mark ye me :

Ile cauell on the ninth part of a hare

Ar the indentures drawne ; shall we be gone :

Glen. The moone shines faier ; ye may away by night :
Ile hast the writter ; & withall

Breake with yow^r wiues of yow^r departure hence

I ame afraid my daughter will runne mad :

So much shee doteth on her Mortimer.

Erit.

Mor. Fie coosine Percy : how yo^w crosse my father :

Hot. I cannot chuse : sometimes he angers me

With telling me of the mould-warp & the ant :

Of the dreamer Merline ; & her prophesies :

& of a dragon ; & a finlesse fish :

A clip-wing'd griffine & a moultten rauen :

A couching lyon & a ramping katt :
 & such a deale of skimble-skamble stuffe
 As puts me from my faith ; Ile tell yee what :
 He held me last night ; at least nyne howers
 In reckoning vp the severall diuells mames
 That weare his lackies : I cryed hum ; & well : go to :
 But markt hime not a word : O he is as tedious
 As a tired horse : a rayling wife :
 Worse then a smoky howse ; I had rather lue
 With cheese & garlike in a wind-mill farr
 Then feede on catte & haue hime talke to me
 In any sommer-howse in Christendome :

Mor. Infaith he was a worthie gentleman :
 Exceeding well read, & profitted
 In strange conscealements ; valiant as a lyon
 & wondrous affable & as bountifull
 As mynes of Imdia ; shall I tell yo^w coosen
 He holds yow^r temper in a hie respect
 & curbs himeselfe : euen of his naturall scope
 When yow come crosse his humor, faith he does ;
 I warrant yo^w that man is not aliue
 Might so haue tempted hime as yo^w haue done
 Without the tast of danger & reproofe :
 But doe not vse it oft lett me intreat yo^w

Wor. In faith my lord : yo^w ar to willfull blame .
 & scince yow^r comming hither ; haue done enough
 To put hime quite besides his patience
 Yo^w must needs learne lord : to amend this fault :
 Though some times it shew greatnes ; courag, blood,
 & that's the dearest grace it renders yo^w :
 Yett often times it doth present harsh rage :
 Defect of manners ; want of gouernment :
 Prid ; hautines : opinion : & disdaine :
 The least of which ; haunting a noble man :
 Loseth mens harts, & leaues behind a staine

Vpon the beauty of all parts besids.

Beguilling them of comendaçõn

Hot. Well, I am scoll'd good manners be yow^r speed
Come ; to our wiues & lett us take our leaue :

Exeunt.

ACT : III^m.—SCÆN: 2^{da}.

Enter the King: Prince of WALES: LANCASTER & others.

King. Lords : giue vs leaue ; the Prince of Wales & I must
haue some priuate conferenco, but be nere at hand for we shall
presently haue need of yo^r

Exeunt Lords.

I know not whether God will haue it so :
For some displeasing seruiss I haue done
That in His secrett dome out of my blood
Heele breed revengement ; & a scourge for me,
But thow dost in the passages of life
Make me beleene that thow art only mark'd
For the hott vengeance ; & the rod of heauen
To punish my mistreadings. Tell me else
Could such inordinate & low desires
Such poore, such bare, such lewd, such mean atempts
Such barren pleasures, rude societie,
As thow art matcht wth all & grafted too
Acompany the greatnes of thie blood,
& hold theire leuell with thie princely hart.

Prin. So please yow^r Maiesty, I would I could
Quit all offences with as cleere excuse
As well as I ame doubtles I can purge
Myself of many I am charg'd withall :
Yet such extenuation lett me begg
As in reproofe of many tales deuisd
W^{ch} oft the eare of greatenes needs must heare

By smileing pick-thankes & bace newes-mongers
I may for some things true, wherein my youth
Hath faulty wandred ; & irrigrular
Find pardon on my true submission.

King. God pardon thee : yett lett me wonder Harry
At thie affections w^{ch} doe hold a winge
Quite from the flight of all thie ancestors
Thie place in counsell thow hast rudely lost
Which by thie younger brother is suplido :
& art almost an alient from the harts
Of all the court ; & princes of my blood.
The hope & expectation of thie time
Is ruin'd ; & the soule of euery man
Prophetically doe fore-think thie fall
Had I so lauish of my presents beene
So common hackneid in the eyes of men :
So stale, & cheap to vulgar company
Opinion that did helpe me to the crowne
Had still kept loyall to possession
& left me in reputles banishment
A fellow of noe marke, or likely-hood :
By beeing seldome seene, I could not stirr
But like a commett I was wondred at
That men would tell their children this is he,
Others would say, where : which is Bullingbrooke
& then I stole all curtesi from Heauen
& drest myselfe in such humillity
That I did pluck aledgiance from mens harts
Loud shouts, & salutations from their mouthes
Euen in the presents of the crowned kinge
Thus I did keep my person fresh & new
My presents like a robe pountificall
Nere scene ; but wondred at : & so my state
Seldome ; but sumptuous shewed like a feast
& whan by carenes such solemnityes

The skipping king he ambled vp & downe
 With shallow jestars & rash braine witts
 Soone kindled & soone burnt, carded his state
 Mingled his royalty w^t carping fooles :
 Had his great name prophaned w^t their scorne
 & gaue his countenance against his name
 To laugh at gybing boyes ; & stand the push
 Of euery beardles vayne comparatiue
 Grew a companion to the coñon streets
 Enfeoft himeselfe to popularity
 That being daiely swallowed by mens eyes
 They surffeted w^t hony & began to loath
 The tast of sweetnes : whereof a little
 More then a little is by much to much
 So when he had occation to be seene
 He was but as the cuckoe is in June
 Heard, not regarded ; seene but w^t such eyes
 As sicke & blunted w^t coñunity :
 Affoord noe extraordinary gaze
 Such as it bent on sunne-like maiesty
 When it shines seldome in admireing eyes :
 But rather drowz'd, & hung their eye-lides downe
 Slept in his face, & rendred such aspect
 As cloudy men vse to doe to their aduersaries
 Being w^t his presents glutted, georgde & full
 & in that very lyne : Harry : standest thou :
 For thou hast lost thie princely priuiledge
 W^t vile participation : not an eye
 But is aweary of thie coñon sight
 Saue myne ; Which hath desired to see thee more
 W^{ch} now doth that I would not haue it doe
 Make blind itselfe w^t foolish tendernes :

Prin. I shall hereafter my thris gracious lord
 Be more myselfe.

King. For all the world :

As thou art to this hower, was Richard then
When I from France sett foote at Rauensprugh :
& euen as I was then is Percy now
Now by my septer & my soule to boote
He hath more worthie interest to the state
Then thou ; the shadow of succession :
For of noe right, nor cullor like to right
He doth fill feilds wth harnes in the realme
Turns head against the lyons armed Jawes
& being no more in debt to tender yeares then thou
Leads ancient lords, & reuerent bishops on
To bloody battells & to bruseing armes :
What neuer dyeing honour hath he gett
Against renowned Dowglas : whose high deeds
Whose hott incursions & great name in armes
Holds from all souldier cheife maiority
& military title capitall :
Through all the kingdomes that acknowledg Christ
Thris hath the Hotspur Mars in swathing clothes
This infant warriar in his enteprizes
Discomfited great Dowglas ; tane hime once
Enlarged hime & made a friend of hime
To fill the mouth of deepe defiance vp
& shake the peace & safty of our throne
& what say yo^w to this. Percy Northumberland
The Archbishops grace of Yorke, Dowglas, Mortimer,
Capitulate against vs ; & are vp
But wherefore doe I tell this news to thee :
Whie Harry doe I tell thee of my foes :
W^{ch} art my ners't & dearest enymee
Thow that art like enough through vassall feare
Bace inclination ; & the start of spleene :
To fight against me, vnder Percyes paie
To dog his heeles & curtsi at his frownes :
To shew how much ; thou art degenerat :

Prin. Doe not thinke so, yo^r shall not find it so
 And God forgiue them that so much haue sway'd
 Yow^r Maiesties good thoughts away from me.
 I will redeeme all this on Percyes head :
 & in the closing of some glorious day
 Be bold to tell yo^r that I am yo^r sonne.
 When I will weare a garment all of blood,
 & staine my fauours in a bloody maske
 W^{ch} washt away shall scoure my shame w^t it
 & that shalbe the day when ere it lights
 This same child of honour & renowne
 This gallant Hotspur, this all-praysed knight
 & yow^r vnthought of Harry chance to meet
 For euery honour: fitting on his helme :
 Would they weare multitudes : & on my head
 My shames redoubled. for the time will come
 That I shall make this Northerne youth exchange
 His glorious deeds : for my indignyties :
 Percy is but my factor : good my lord
 To engrosse my glorious deeds on my behalfe
 & I will call hime to so strict account
 That he shall render euery glory vp :
 Yea, euen the slightest worship of his time :
 Or I will tare the reckoning from his hart
 This in the name of God I promise here :
 The w^{ch} if He be pleas'd I shall performe
 I doe beseech yow^r Maiesty may saluo
 The long grown wounds of my intemperance :
 If not, the end of life cancells all bands :
 & I will die a hundreth thowsand deaths
 Ere breake the smallest parcell of my vow.

Enter BLUNT.

King. A hundreth thowsand rebels die in this

Thow shalt haue charg & soueraigne trust herein :
How now good Blunt : thie lookes are full of speed

Blunt. So hath the busines that I come to speake of :
Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath sent word
That Dowglas & the English rebels mett
The eleuenth of this month, at Shrewsbury :
A mighty and a fearefull head they are
(If pmisses be kept on euery hand)
As euer offered foule playe in a state

King. The earle of Westmerland sett forth to daie :
With hime my sonne lord John of Lancaster :
For this aduertisement is fve daies old
On Wednesdaie next Harry : thow shalt sett forward
On Thursdaie we ourselues will march ; our meeting
Is Bridgenorth. & Harry yo^r shall March
Through Gloscestershire, by which account
Our busines valued, some twellue daies hence
Our generall forces : at Bridgenorth shall meett.
Our hands are full of busines : Lett's awaye,
Aduantage feeds hime fatt, whill men delay.

Exeunt.

ACT : IIIth.—SCÆN : 3th.

Enter FALSTAFF & BARDOLFF.

Fals. Bardolffe ame not I fallen away vilely scince this last
action : doe I not bate : doe I not dwindle : whio my skine
hanes about me like an old ladies loose gowne. I ame withered
like an old aple-John : well Ile repent & that suddainly,
while I ame in some likeinge. I shalbe out of hart shortly
and then I shall haue noe strength to repent & I haue nott
forgotten what the inside of a church is made of. I ame a
peper-corne, a brewers horse, the inside of a church : company,
villanous company hath been the spoile of me.

Bar. Sir John yow ar so fretfull ; yo^w cannot liue long.

Fals. Whie there is it : come sing me a bawdie song : make me merry : I was as vertuously giuen as a gentleman need to be ; vertuous enough, swore little : dic'd not aboue seauen times a weeke : went to a bawdy-howse not aboue once in a quarter of an hower : paid mony that I borrow'd throe or fower times : liued well, & in good compasse, & now I liue out of all order, out of all compasse.

Bar. Whie yo^w ar so fatt Sr John : y^t yo^w must needs be out of all compasse : out of all reasonable compasse Sir John.

Fals. Doe thow amend thie face & Ile amend my life : thou art our admiall : thow bearest the lanterne in the poope : but 'tis in the nose of thee, thow art the knight of the burying lampe :

Bar. Whie Sr John, my face does yo^w noe harme :

Fals. Noe Ile be sworne I make as good vse of it as many a man doth of a deathes-head or a memento-mori. I neuer see thie face, but I thinke vpon hell-fire and Diues that liued in purple, for there he is in his robes burningo : burying ; if thou weart any way giuen to vertue I would sweare by thie face, my oth should be : By this fire, that's God's angell. But thou art altogether giuen ouer : & weart indeed, but for the light in thie face, the sunne of vtter darknes, when thou ranst vp Gads-hill in the night to catch my horse if I did not think that thou hadst bine an Ignis fatuus or a ball of wildfire there's noe purchase in mony : O thou art a perpetuall triumph : an euerlasting bone-fire-light : thou hast saued me a thowsand markes in linckes & torches, walking with thee in the night betwixt tauerne & taverne, but the sacke that thou hast drunke me, would haue bought me lights as good cheap as the dearest chandlers in Europe : I haue mayntained that Sallamander of yowrs with fire any time this two and thirty yeares : God reward me for it.

Bar. Zblood, would my face weare in yow^r belly.

Enter hostesse.

Fals. God mercy : so should I be sure to be hart burned ; how now Dame Parlett the hen, haue yo^w inquired yett who pickt my pockett.

Hos. Whie S^r John : what doe yo^w thinke. Sir John, doe yo^w thinke I keepe theeues in my howse : I haue searcht, I haue inquired, so has my husband, man by man, boy by boy, seruant by seruant, the right of a haire was neuer lost in my howse before.

Fals. Ye lye hostesse, Bardolffe was shau'd & lost many a haire & Ile be sworne my pockett was pickt ; goe to, yo^w ar a woman : goe.

Hos. Who I : I defie thee : God's light, I was neuer cald so in my owne howse before.

Fals. Go to : I knowe yo^w well enough.

Hos. No S^r John, yo^w doe not know me Sir John ; I know yo^w S^r John : yow owe me mony Sir John, & now yo^w picke a quarrell to beguile me of it. I bought yo^w a dozen of shirtts to yo^wr backe.

Fals. Doulas : filthie doulas : I haue giuen them away to bakers wiues : they haue made boulders of them.

Hos. Now as I am a true woman. Holland of eight shilling an ell : yow owe mony here besides Sir John for yow^r diet & by-drinkings & mony lent yo^w. fower & twenty pownds.

Fals. He had his part of it : lett hime paie.

Hos. He alas : he is poore : he has nothing :

Fals. How : poore : Looke vpon his face, what call yo^w rich : lett hime coine his nose, lett hime coyne his cheekes. Ile not paie a denyer : What : will yo^w make a younker of me shall I not take myne ease in myne inn : but I shall haue my pockett pickt. I haue lost a sceale ring of my grand-fathers worth fourty marke.

Hos. O Jesu : I haue heard the prince tell hime I know not how oft, that that ring was copper.

Fals. How : the Prince is a Jacke : a sneake-cup : Zblood & he weare here. would cudgell hime like a dog, if he would saie so.

ACT : IIIth.—SCÆN : 4th.

Enter the Prince & POYNES marchinge and FALSTALFF meets hime playing on his Trunchion like a fife.

Fals. How now Lad : is the wind in that dore yfaith : must we all march :

Bar. Yea too, & two, Newgate-fashion

Hos. My lord heare me :

Prin. What saiest thow ; Mistris Quickly : How does thie husband : I loue hime well, he is an honest man :

Hos. Good my lord heare me

Fals. Prethee lett her alone, & list to me.

Prin. The other night, I fell asleepe heere behind the arroe & had my pockett pickt ; this howse is turn'd bawdy house they picke pocketts.

Prin. What didst thow lose Jacke :

Fals. Willt thow beleeuo me Hall, three or fower bonds of forty pownd apeece & a seale ring of my grandfathers

Prin. A trifle, some eight-peny matter

Hos. So I told hime my lord & said I heard yow^r Graco say so, & my lord he speakes most vilely of yo^w : like a foule mouth'd man as he is, & said he would cudgill yo^w

Prin. What he did not :

Hos. There's neither faith truth nor womanhood in me else :

Fals. There's noe more faith in thee then in a stued prune, nor no more truth in thee then in a drawne foxe, & for womanhood, Maid Marian may be the deputies wife of the ward to thee : goe yo^w thing : goe.

Hos. Say, what thing : what thing :

Fals. What thing : whie a thing to thanke God on :

Hos. I ame noe thing to thanke God on. I would thow shouldst well know it. I ame an honest mans wife : & setting thy knight-hood aside, thow art a knave to call me so :

Fals. Setting thie woman-hood aside thow art a beast to saie otherwise :

Hos. Saie : what beast : thow knave thow :

Fals. What beast : whie an otter :

Prin. An otter : S^r John : whie an otter :

Fals. Whie : shees neither fish, nor flesh : a man knowes not where to haue her.

Hos. Thow art an vnjust man to saie soe ; thow or any man knowes where to haue me : thow knave thow :

Prin. Thow saiest true hostesse, & he slanders thee most grossly

Hos. So he doth yow my lord, & said this other daie yo^r ought hime a thowsand pound.

Prin. Sirra : doe I owe yo^r a thowsand pownd.

Fals. A thowsand pownd Hall : a million : thie loue is worth a million ; thow owest me thie loue.

Hos. Nay my lord he cald yo^r Jack, & saide he would cudgell yo^r :

Fals. Did I Bardolffe.

Bar. Indeed Sir John : yow said so :

Fals. Yea, if he said my ringe was copper :

Prin. I saie 'tis copper : dars't thow be as good as thie word now.

Fals. Whie Hall ; thow knowest as thow art but a man I dare ; but as thow art a prince I feare thee, as I feare the roareing of a lions whelpe.

Prin. And whie not as the lion.

Fals. The king himeselfe is to be feard as the lion : dost thow think Ile feare thee, as I feare thie father : nay & I doe, I pray God my girdle breake :

Prin. O if it should, how would thie gutts fall about thie knes : but sirra, there's noe roome for faith truth nor honesty

in this bosome of thine. It is all fill'd vp w^t gutts, and midriffe; charg an honest woman with pickeing thie pockett, whie thow horeson impudent imbost rascall, if there weare any thinge in thie pockett but tauerne reckonings memorandums of bawdie howeses & on poore penyworth of sugar-candy to make thee long winded: if thie pockett weare inricht with any other iniuryes but these I am a villaine: & yett thow wilt stand to it, yow will not pockett vp wronge. art thow not ashamed:

Fals. Dost thow heare Hall: thou knowest in the state of innocency Adame fell & what should poore Jacke Falstalffe doe in the daies of villanye: thow seest I haue more flesh then another man, & therefore more frailty: yo^w confesse then yo^w pickt my pockett.

Prin. It apeares so by the story:

Fals. Hostesse I forgiue thee; goe make ready breakfast: loue thie husband, looke to thie servants. cherish thie guests; thow shalt find me tractable to any honest reason; thow seest I ame pacified still: nay I prethee be gone.

Exit HOSTESSE.

Now Hall, to the news at Court; for the robbery lad; how is that answered.

Prin. O my sweet beefe, I must still be good angell to thee: the mony is paid backe againe.

Fals. O I doe not like that paieing backe; 'tis a double labor

Prin. I ame good friends w^t my father & man doe anything:

Fals. Rob me the exchequer the first thing thow dost: and doe it with vnwasht hands too.

Bar. Doe my lord.

Prin. I haue pcured the Jacke, a charge of foote:

Fals. I would it had beene of horse: wheare shall I find one that can steale well: O for a fine theife of the age of two & twenty or there about. I ame hainously vnprovided: well God

be thanked for these rebells ; they offend none but the
vertuous : I laud them. I praise them :

Prin. Bardolffe :

Bar. My lord :

Prin. Goe beare this lett^r to lord John of Lancaster :
To my brother John ; this to my lord of Westmerland
Goe Poynes to horse, for thou & I
Have thirty miles yett to ride ere dinner time :
Jacke, meet me to-morrowe in the Temple Hall
At two a'clock in the afternoone :
There shalt thou know thie charge & there rec^d
Mony & order for their furniture :
The land is burning. Percy stands on high
& either they, or we, must lower lye.

Fals. Rare words, braue world. Hostesse : my breakfast :
come :

O I could wish this tauerne weare my drum.

Exeunt.

ACT. IIIrd.—SCÆN: 5th.

Enter HOTSPUR, WORCESTER & DOWGLAS.

Hot. Well said, my noble Scot ; if speakeing truth
In this fine age : weare not thought flattery
Such attrubution should the Dowglas haue
As not a souldier of this seasons stampe
Should goe so generall : currant through the world :
By God I cannot flatter. I defie
The tongues of soothers ; but a brauer place ;
In my harts loue : hath noe man then yow^r selfe :
Nay taske me to my word : aproue me lord :

Dow. Thou art the king of honour :
Noe man so potent breathes vpon the ground
But I will beard him.

Enter one wth letters.

Hot. Do so, & 'tis well ; what letters hast thou heare :
I can but thanke you :

Messen. These letters come from your father

Hot. Letters from him : whie comes he not himselfe :

Mes. He cannot come my lord : he is greivous sick :

Hot. Zounds : how has he leisure to be sicke
In such a justling time : who leads his power :
Vnder whose gouernment come they along :

Mes. His lett^r beares his mynd, not I :

Wor. I prethee tell me doth he keep his bed :

Mes. He did my lord, fower daies ere I sett forth
& at the time of my departure thence
He was much feard by his phisition

Wor. I would the state of time had first been wholle
Ere he by sickenes had been visited :
His health was neuer better worth then now.

Hot. Sicke now : droope now : this sicknes doth infect
The very life-blood of our enterprise :
'Tis catching hither, euen to our campe
He writts me here, that inward sicknes
& that his friends by deputation
Could not so soone be drawne, nor did he thinke it mette
To lay so dangerous & deare a trust
On any soule remou'd, but on his owne :
Yett doth he giue vs bould aduertisement
That with our small conjunction we should on,
To see how fortune is dispos'd to vs :
For, as he writts, there is no quailing now
Because the king is certaynly possest
Of all our purposes ; What saie you to it :

Wor. Your fathers sicknes is a mayne to us :

Hot. A perilous gash ; a very lymme lopt off
& yett in faith ; it is not his present want

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then we shall find it: weare it good
see exact wealth of all our states
t: to sett so rich a mayne
hazard of on dubtfull hower
weare a good, for therein should we read
e very bottome, & the soule of hope
e very list, the very vtmost bound
all our fortunes.

Dow. Faith, & so we should.

are now remaynes a sweet reversion
We may boldly spend vpon the hop of what tis to com in
e comfort of retyrement liues in this

A randevous, a home to fly vnto
the diuell & mischance look bigg
pon the maidenhead of our afaires:

Wor. But yett I would yow^r father had been here
e quality & heire of our attempt
okes no diuision: it wilbe thought
y some that know not whie he is awaye
That wisdom, loyalty, & meere dislike
Of our proceedings kept this earle from hence:
& thinke how such an apprehension
May turne the tide of fearefull faction
& breed a kind of question in our cause:
For well ye know wee of the offering side
Must keep aloofe from strict abitrement:
& stope all sight-holes, enery loope from whence
The eye of reason may prie in vpon vs.
This absence of yow^r father drawes a curtaine
That shewes the ignorant a kind of feare
Before not dreamt of.

Hot. Yo^w straine to far:
I rather of his absents mak this vee:
It lends a lustre & more great opinion
A larger care to yow^r great enterprize

Then if the earle weare heare ; for men must thinke
 If we without his helpe, can make a head
 To push against the kingdome, w^t hees helpe
 We shall o'rturne it topsie turuy downe :
 Yett all goes well, yett all our joynts are euen,

Dow. As hart can think : there is not such a word
 Spoke of in Scotland at this deame of feare.

Enter Sir RICHARD VERNON.

Hot. My coosine Vernon, wellcom by my soule :

Ver. Pray God my newes be worth a wellcom lord
 The earle of Westmerland seauen thowsand strong :
 Is marching hither-wards ; with prince John.

Hot. Noe harme, what more :

Ver. And further I haue learnd
 The king himeselfe in person hath sett forth
 Or hither-wards intended speedily
 With strong & mighty preparation :

Hot. He shall be wellcome too, where is his sonue
 The nimble-footed mad-cap prince of Wales
 & his cum-rads ; that dast the world aside
 & bid it passe :

Ver. All furnisht : all in armes :
 All plum'd like estredges that w^t the wind
 Bayted like eagles, haueing lately bath'd :
 Glittering in golden coates, like images :
 As full of spiritt as the month of May
 & gorgeous as the sunne at midsum̃er,
 Wanton as youthfull goats, wild as young bulls :
 I saw young Harry w^t his beuer on,
 His cushes on his thighes ; gallantly arm'd
 Rise from the ground : like fethered Mercury
 & valted with such ease into his seate
 As if an angell dropt downe from the clowds
 To turne & wind a firy Pegasus.

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world with noble horsemanship :

Hot. more, noe more, worse then the sunne in March
doth norish agues : lett them come :
like sacrificies in their trime
to the e-side maid of smokie warre
t & bleeding will we offer theñe
mayled Mars shall on his alter sitt
to the eares in blood : I am on fier
heare this rich reprizall is so nigh :
yett not ours : come, lett me take my horse,
o is to beare me like a thunder-bolt
nst the bosome of the Prince of Wales
y to Harry : shall not horse to horse
& nere part, till on drop downe a coarse
hat Glendower weare come :

Ver. There is more newes
arned in Worcester, as I rode along
cannot draw his foreteene daies

Dow. That's the worst tidings ; that I heare of yett

Wor. I by my faith that beares a frosty sownd :

Hot. What may the kings whole battell reach vnto

Ver. To thirty thowsand.

Hot. Forty lett it be :

My father & Glendower, being both away
The powers of vs, may serue so greate a daie
Com ; lett us take a muster speedily
Doomes daie is nere, dye all, dye merily :

Dow. Talke not of dyeing, I ame out of feare
Of death, or deathes-hand, for this one halfe yeare.

Exeunt.

ACT : IIIrd.—SCÆN : 6th.

Enter FALS : & BARDOLFFE.

Fals. Bardolfe : gett thee before to Conentry, fill me a bottle

of sake, our soulders shall march through weele to Sutton Cop-hill tonight.

Bar. Will yo^w giue me mony captaine :

Fals. Lay out, lay out.

Bar. This bottle makes an angell :

Fals. And if it doe ; take it for thie labor : & if it make twenty take them all ; Ile answear the coynage bid my leiwtenant, Peto meett me at Townes end :

Bar. I will captaine : farewell

Exit BAR.

Fals. If I be ashamed of my souldiers ; I am a sows't gurnett : I haue misvsed the kings presse damnably I haue gott in exchange of on hundreth & fifty souldiers, three hundreth & ode pownds : I presse me nonne, but good howseholders, yeomans sonnes : Inquire me out contracted batchelors, such as haue bine askt twise one the banes : such a comōdity of warme slaues, as had as liue heare the diuell as a drum, such as feare the report of a caliuier, more then a strook-foule, or a hurt wild duck : I prest me none but such tost & butter with harts in theire bellyes noe bigger then pines heads ; & they haue bought out theire sirvices : & now my whole charge consistes of ancients corporales, lieuetenants, gentlemen of companyes, slaues as raged as Lazerus in the painted cloth where the Gluttons doges licked his sores ; & such as indeed weare neuer souldiers ; but discarded vnjust seruimgmen, younger sonnes : to younger brothers, revolted tapsters, & ostlers trade-fallen, the cankers of a calme world, & long peace, ten times more dishonourable ragged then an old fac'd ancient : and such haue I to fill vp the roomes of them as haue bought out theire servises, that yow would thinke : that I had a hundreth & fifty totored prodigales, Lately come from swine keepeing, from eateing draffe & huskes, a mad fellowe mett me on the way, & told me I had vnloaded all the gibbitts & prest the dead bodies : noe eye hath seen such skar-crowes : Ile not

march through Couentry with them, thats flatt: nay and the villaines march wide betwixt theire leges as if they had gyues on, for indeed I had the most of them out of prison: there's not a shirt & a halfe in all my company & the halfe shirt is two napkins takt together, & throwne ower the shoulders, like a haralds coate without sleeues, & the shirt to saie the truth stolne from my host of saint Albones, or the Red-nose In-keeper of Dauntry; but thats all on, they'l find lynnen enough one enery side.

Exit.

ACT: III^m.—SCÆN: 7^m.

Enter HOTSPUR, WORCESTER, DOWGLAS, & VERNON.

Hot. Weele fight w^t hime tonight:

Wor. It may not be.

Dow. Yo^w giue hime then aduantage:

Ver. Not a whitt:

Hot. Whis so, Lookes he not supply:

Ver. So doe we:

Hot. His is certaine, ours is doubtfull:

Wor. Good coosine be aduisde, stir not to night:

Ver. Doe not my lord.

Dow. Yo^w doe not counsell well.

Yo^w speake it out of feare; & cold hart:

Ver. Doe me noe slander Dowglas; by my life,
& I dare well maintayne it with my life;

If well respected-honour bid me on:

I hold as little counsell w^t weake feare

As yo^w my lord, or any Scot that this daie liues:

Lett it be seene tomorrow in the battell, w^{ch} of us feares:

Ver. Content.

Dow. Yea or to-night

Hot. To night saie I:

Ver. Come, come, it may not bee :
 I wonder much, being men of such great leading as yo^w ar
 That yo^w foresee not such impediments.
 Drag back our expedition, certaine horse,
 Of my coosine Vernons, are not yett come vp :
 Yow^r vncle Worcesters horse came but to daie
 & now theire prid & mettall is asleepe :
 Theire courag with hard labor tam & dull,
 That not a horse is halfe the halfe of himeself :

Hot. So ar the horses of the enimye :
 In generall jurney lated & brought lowe
 The better part of ours are full of rest :

Wor. The number of the king exceedeth our :
 For God's-sake coosine, stay till all come in.

ACT : IIIth.—SCÆN : 8th.

The trumpet sounds a parly. Enter Sir WALTER BLUNT.

Blunt. I come with gracious offers from the king
 If yo^w vouch-safe me heareing ; & respect :

Hot. Wellcome Sr Walte Blunt : & would to God
 Yo^w weare of our determination :
 Some of vs loue yo^w well, & euen those some
 Enuy yow^r great deseruing & good name
 Because yow ar not of our quallity
 But stand against vs like an enemy :

Blunt. And God defend ; but still I should stand so
 So long as out of limitt & true rule
 Yo^w stand against anoynted maiesty :
 But to my charg, the king hath sent to know
 The nature of yow^r greefes, & wherevpon
 Yo^w coniure from the breast of ciuill peace
 Such bloody hostillity, teaching his dutious land
 Audacious cruelty : if that the kinge

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y yow^r good deserts forgott :
fesseth to be manifold :
same yow^r greefe, & w^t all speed
the yow^r desires with interest
z pardon absolute for yow^r selfe & these
Herein mislead by yow^r suggestion :
t. The king is kind & well we know, the king
owes at what time to punise : when to paie :
father, my vncke, & my selfe
And giue him that some royallty he weares
& when he was not sixe-&-twenty-strong :
Sicke in the worlds regard ; wretched & low :
A poore vnminded outlawe, sneaking home :
y father gaue him wellcome to the shore :
when he heard him sweare & vow to God
He came but to the Duke of Lancaster
To sue his liuery & beg his peace
W^t teares of inocency & tearmes of zeale
My father in kindhart & pittie mou'd
Swore him assistance & perform'd it too :
Now, when the lords & barrons of the realme
Perceiu'd Northumberland did leane to him
The more & lesse came in w^t cap & knee
Met him in boroughs, cittyes, villages,
Attend him on bridges, stood in lanes
Laide gifts before him ; profferd him theire oathes :
Gaue him theire heires. as pages followed him
Euen at the heeles in golden multitudes :
He presently : as greatnes knowes itselfe :
Steps me a little higher then his vowe
Made to my father : while his blood was poore
Vpon the naked shore at Ranespurgh
& now forsooth takes on him to reforme
Some certaine edicts & some straight decrees :

That laie to heauy on the common wealth
 Cries out vpon abuses, seemes to weep
 Ouer his countries wronges & by this face
 This seeming brow of Justice did he winne
 The harts of all : that he did angle for :
 Proceeded further : cut me off the heads
 Of all the fauoritts that the absent king
 In deputation left behind hime here
 When he was personall in the Irish warrs

Blunt. Tut : I came not to heare this :

Hot. Then to the poynt.

In short time after, he depos'd the king
 Soone after that depriu'd hime of his life
 & in the neck of that, taskt the whole state :
 To make that worse, suffered his kinseman March
 Who is, if euery owner weare plac'd
 Indeed his king : to be ingag'd in Wales
 There w^t out ransome to lye forfeited
 Disgrac'd me in my happie victories
 Sought to intrap me by intelligence
 Rated my vncle from the counsell board
 In rage dismis'd my father from the court
 Broake oth on oth : committed wrong on wrong :
 & in conclution droue vs to seeke out
 This head of safty, & withall to prie
 Into his title : the which we finde
 To indirect for long continewance.

Blunt. Shall I returne this answeare to the kinge

Hot. Not so Si^r Walter : weele w^ddrawe awhile
 Goe to the king, & lett there be impaund
 Some surety for a safe returne againe
 & in the morning early shall my vncle
 Bring hime our purpose : & so farewell :

Blun. I would yow would except of grace & loue

Hot. And may be, so we shall:

Blunt. Praie God yo^w doe:

Exeunt severally.

ACT: IV^a.—SCÆN: 1^a.

*Enter the King, Prince of WALES, JOHN of LANCASTER
Sir WALTER BLUNT & FALSTAFFE.*

King. How bloodily the sunne begins to peere
Aboue yon huskie hill: the daie lookes pale
At his distemperature:

Prin. The southerne wind
Doth plaie the trumpet to his purposes
& by hallow whistling in the leaues
Foretells a tempest & a blustering daie

King. Then w^t the losers lett it simpathize:
For nothing can seeme foule to those that wiñe

The trumpets soundes. Enter WORCESTER.

Kinge. How now my lord of Worcester, 'tis not well
That yo^w & I should meet vpon such tearmes
As now we meet: yo^w haue deceiued yow^r trust
& made vs doffe our easie robes of peace
To crush our old limes in vngentle steele
This is not well my lord, this is not well:
What saie yo^w to it: will yo^w againe vnknitt
This churlish knott: of all abhorred warre:
& moue in that obeidient orbe againe
Where yo^w did giue a faire & naturall light:
& be noe more an exhal'd meteor
A prodigie of feare, & a portent
Of broched mischeife to the vnborne times

Wor. Heare me my liege
For my owne part I could be well content

To entertayne the lag-end of my life

W^t quiett howers ; for I protest

I haue not sought the daie of this dislike :

King. Yow haue not sought it : how comes it then :

Fals. Rebellion laie in his way & he found it

Prin. Peace chewet, peace :

Wor. It pleas'd yow^r Maiestie to turne yow^r lookes
Of fauore from my selfe & all our howse :

& yett I must remember yo^w my lord

We weare the first & deerest of yow^r friends

For yo^w my stafe of offece did I breake

In Richards time, & posted daie & night

To meet yo^w on the way & kisse yow^r hand

When yett yow weare in place & in acount

Nothing so strong & fortunate as I :

I was my selfe, my brother, & his sonne

That brought yo^w home, & boldly did out-date

The danger of the time yo^w swore to vs

& yo^w did sweare that oath at Dancaster,

That yo^w did nothing of purpose against the state

Nor clayme noe further, then yow^r new-falne-right

The seate of Gaunt, Duckdome of Lancaster

To this, we sware our aide, but in short space

It rain'd downe fortune showering on yow^r head

& such a flood of greatnes fell on yow :

What with our help, what w^t the absent king,

That with the iniuries of wanton time

The seeming sufferances that yo^w had borne

& the contrarious winds that held the king

So long in the vnluckye Irish warrs :

That all in England did repute hime dead :

And from this swarme of faire aduantages

Yo^w tooke occasion to be quicklie woo'd,

To grip the generall swaye into yow^r hand,

Forgott yow^r oth to vs at Dancaster :

THE HISTORY OF

& being fed by vs, yo^r vs'd us so,
 As that vngentle gull, the cuckoos bird
 Vseth the sparrow, did opresse our nest
 krew by our feeding to so great a bulke
 That euen our loue, durst not come neere yow^r sight
 For feare of swallowing, but with nimble wing
 'e weare infors't for safty-sake to fly
 it of yow^r sight & raise this present head
 Whereby we stand opposed by such meanes
 As yo^r yow^r selfe haue forg'd against yow^rselfe
 vnkind vsage, dangerous countenance,
 violation of all faith & troth
 orne to vs in yow^r younger enterprise
King. These thinges indeed, you haue articulate
 Proclaim'd at market crosses, read in churches,
 face the garment of rebellion
 ' some fine couller that may please the eye
 Of fickle changlings, & poore discontentes,
 Which gap & rub the elbow at the newes
 Of hurly burly inouation :
 & neuer yett did insurrection want :
 Nor moody beggar staruising for a time
 Of pell-mell haucke & confution.

Prin. In both yow^r armis there is many a soule
 Shall paie full dearly for this encounter
 If once they joyne in tryall : tell yow^r nephew
 The Prince of Wales : doth joyne w^t all the world
 In praise of Henry Percy : by my hopes
 This present enterprise sett of his head
 I doe not thinke a brauer gentleman
 More actiue, more valiant, or more valliant younge
 More dareing or more bold is yett aliue
 To grace this latter age w^t noble deed.
 For my part I may speake it to my shame
 I haue a trewant beene to chiualtry

& so I heare he doth account me too
 Yet this before my fathers Maiestye
 I am content that he shall take the ods
 Of his great name & estimation :
 & will to saue the blood on either side
 Trie fortune w^t hime in single fight

King. And Prince of Wales, so dare we vesture thee
 Albeit considertions infinit
 Doe make against it, no good Worcester, no,
 We loue our people well, euen those we loue
 That ar misled vpon yo^wr coosins part :
 & will they take take the offer of our grace
 Both he & they & yo^w, yea euery man,
 Shalbe my friend againe & Ile be his :
 So tell yow^r cozen & bring me word
 What he will doe : but if he will not yeild
 Rebuke & dread correction waight on us
 And they shall doe their office : so be gone :
 We will not now be trubled with replie
 We offer faire ; take it aduisedly :

Exit WORCESTER.

Prin. It will not be excepted one my life
 The Dowglas & the Hotspur, both together
 Ar confident against the world in armes

King. Hence therefore euery leader to his charge
 For on their answeare we will sett on them :
 & God defend us as our cause is just.

Exeunt. Manent Prince & FALSTALFF.

Fals. Hall, if thou see me downe in the battell & bestird
 me so, 'tis a point of friendship :

Prin. Nothing but a colossus : can doe thee that friendship
 saie thy praiers & farewell.

Fals. I would it weare bed time Hall, & all well.

Prin. Whie thou owest God a death :

THE HISTORY OF

Fals. 'Tis not due yet, I would be loath to paie Hime before
time, what need I be so forward w^t hime that cales not on
me. Well, 'tis noe matter, honour prickes me on: yea, but
ow if honour prick me off when I come on: How then, can
honour sett to a leg:—noe, nor an arme, or take away the
seefe of a wound: no, honour hath noe skill in surgery then,
: what is honour: a word. What is that word honour:
ire: a trime reckoning: Who hath it: He that died a
Wednesday. Doth he feele it: noe. Doth he heare it:—no.
'tis insensible then: Yea to the dead. But will it not liue
w^t the liueing: noe. Whie:—Detraction will not suffer it.
Therefore I'le none of it: honour is a meere suchion & so ends
my catechisme. *Exit.*

ACT: IVth.—SCÆN: 2^d.

Enter WORCESTER and Sr RICHARD VERNON:

Wor. O no, my nephew must not know, Sr Richard:
The liberall kind offer of the King.

Ver. Tware best he did:

Wor. Then are we all vndon:
It is not possible, it cannot bee
The king would keep his word in loueing vs.
He will suspect us still, & find a time
To punish this offence in others faults.
Supposition, all our liues, shalbe stuck full of eyes:
For treason is but trusted like the foxe,
Who neuer so tame, so cherisht & lockt vp:
Will haue a wildd trick of his ancesters:
Looke how he can, or sad, or merily,
Interpretation will misquote our lookes:
& we shall feed like oxen at a stall
The better cherisht, still the neerer death:
My nephewes trespassse may be well forgott

It hath the excuse of youth, & heate of blood
 & an adopted name of priuiledg
 A haire-brain'd Hotspur gouern'd by a spleene
 All his offences liue vpon my head
 And on his fathers: we did traine hime on
 And his corruption being tane from vs:
 We as the spring of all, shall paye for all:
 Therefore good coosen lett not Henry know
 In any case the offer of the King.

Enter HOTSPUR.

Ver. Deliuier what yo^w will; Ile saie 'tis so, here come
 your coosen.

Hot. My vnkle is returnd
 Deliuier vp my lord of Westmerland:
 Vnkle, what newes:

Wor. The king will bid yo^w battell presently

Dow. Defie hime by the lord of Westmerland

Hot. Lord Dowglas, goe yo^w & tell hime so:

Dow. Mary & shall: & verry willingly:

Exit DOWGLAS.

Wor. There is noe seemige mercy in the king

Hot. Did yo^w beg any: God-forbid:

Wor. I told hime gently of our grevaces:
 Of his oath breaking: w^{ch} he mended thus
 By now forswearing that he is forsworne
 He calls vs rebells, traytors & will scourg
 With hawty armes this hatefull name in vs.

Enter DOWGLAS.

Dow. Arme gentlemen, to armes, for I haue throwne
 A braue defieance in kinge Henryes teeth
 & Westmemerland that was ingag'd did beare it
 W^{ch} cannot chuse but bring hime quickly on.

THE HISTORY OF

Prince of Wales stept forth before the King
 along'd yo^r to single fight.
 wold the quarrell lay vpon our heads
 as man might draw short breath to daie
 t I & Harry Monmouth: tell me, tell me,
 w shew'd his talking; seem'd it in contempt
Ver. Noe by my soule, I neuer in my life
 heare a challenge vrgd mor modestly:
 lesse a brother should a br^o draw
 gentle exercise & prais:
 me yo^r all the di:
 vp yow^r praises with a princely tongue
 e yow^r deservings like a chronicle:
 making yo^r euer better then his praise
 still dispraising praise; valued with yo^r
 w^h became hime, like a seed
 made a blushing citall
 chid his trewant yee grace
 As if he mastered there; a dable spirit
 Of teaching & of learning instantly:
 There did he pause, but lett me tell the world
 If he outliue the envy of this daie
 England will neuer owe so sweet a hope
 So much misconstrued in his wantonnesse:
Hot. Coosen I thinkes thow art enamored
 On his follies; neuer did I heare,
 Of any prince so wild at liberty:
 But be he, as he will, yett once ere night
 I will imbrace hime w^t a soulders arme
 That he shall shrink vnder my curtesie
 Arme, arme with speed, & fellows, souldiers, friends,
 Better consider what yo^r haue to doe
 That I that haue not well the gift of tongue
 Can lift yow^r blood vp with perswation:

Enter a messenger :

Mes. My lord here ar letters for yo^w

Hot. I cannot read them now

O gentlemen the time of life is short
To spend that shortnes bacely, weare to long
If life did ride vpon a dialls poynt :
Still ending at the ariuell of an hower :
& if we liue, we liue to tread on kings
If die, braue death when princes die w^t us
Now for our consciences, the armes is faire
When the intent for beareing them is just.

Mes. My lord prepare : the king comes on apace

Hot. I thanke hime, that he cutts me from my tale
For I proffes not talking : only this :
Lett each man doe his best & here draw I a sword
Whose temper I intend to staine
With the best blood, y^t I can meete w^t all
In the aduenture of this perilous daie
Now esperance Percy, & sett on :
Sound all the lofty instruments of warre :
& by that musicke lett us all imbrace
From Heauen to earth soñ of us neuer shall :
A second time doe such a curtesie :

Here they imbrace ; the trumpetts sound :

ACT : IVth.—SCÆN : 3th.

*The King enters with his power, alarme to the battell ; then
enter DOWGLAS & Sir WALTER BLUNT.*

Blunt. What is thie name : that in battell thus thou
crossest me,
What honour dost thou seeke, vpon thie head.

Dow. Know then my name is Dowglas,

THIS SWORD HATH ENDED MINE : SO SHAL IT THEE

Vnles thow yeild thee as a prisoner

Blunt. I was not born to yeild, thow proud Scot :
& thow shalt find a king that will reuenge
Lord Staffords death.

They fight, DOWGLAS kills BLUNT.

Then enters HOTSPUR.

Hot. O Dowglas, hadst thow fought at Holmedon thus
I neuer had triumpht ouer a Scot

Dow. All's done, all's won : here breathles lies the kinge

Hot. Where

Dow. Here.

Hot. This Dowglas : no, I knowe this face full well :
A gallant knight he was, his name was Blunt
Semblably furnisht like the king himeselfe

Dow. Ah : foole, goe with thie soule whether it goes
A borrowed title hast thow bought to deare :
Whie dids't thow tell me, that thow wert a king

Hot. The King hath many marching in his coates

Dow. Now by my sword I will kill all his coates
I murder all his wardrobe peece by peece
Vntill I meet the king.

Hot. Vp and awaie :
Our soulders stand full fairely for the daie.

Exeunt :

the shot here: here's not scoring but vpon the pate. soft who
 ar yo^r: Sir Walter Blunt there's honour for yo^r. here's noe
 vanity. I am as hot as molten lead & as heauy too, God
 keep lead out of me. I need no more waight then my owne
 bowells. I haue led my rag of muffines where they ar pepered,
 there's not thre of my hundreth & fifty left aline, & they
 ar for the townes end to beg dureing life: but whoe comes
 here.

Enter the Prince.

Prin. What standest thou idle here: lend me thie sword
 Many a noble man lyes starke & stiffe
 Vnder the bones of vaunting enemyes.
 Whose deathes ar yet vnrereng'd:
 I prethee lend me thie sworde

Fals. O Hall, prethee giue me leaue to breath awhile: Turke
 Gregorve neuer did such deeds in armes, as I haue done this
 daie: I haue payd Percy, I haue made hime sure.

Prin. He is indeed: & lining to kill thee
 I prethee lend me thie sword:

Fals. Nay, before God Hall, if Percy be alieue, thou gett'st
 not my sword, but take my pistoll if thou wilt.

Prin. Giue it me, what: is it in that case

Fals. I Hall, tis hott, theres that will sack a citty

*The Prince draues it out, & finds it a bottle
 of sake.*

Prin. What is it a time to jest & dalley now

He throwes the bottle at hime & exit.

Fals. If Percy be alieue Ile percee hime, if he doe come in my
 way. so: if he doe not: if I come in his willingly, Lett hime
 make a carbonado of me: I like not such grinning honour as
 Sir Walter hath: giue me life, wch if I can saue, so; if not,
 honour comes vnlookt for, & theres an end. *Exit.*¹

¹ In Deryng's handwritin

ACT: IV^a.—SCÆN: 5th.

*Alarme: excursions. Enter the King; the Prince:
Lord JOHN of LANCASTER.*

King. I prethee Harry w^ddrawe thieselfe: thow bleedest to much:

Lord John of Lancaster, goe yow w^t hime:

L. John. Not I my lord; vnlesse I did bleed too

Prin. I beseech yow^r Maiestie make vp

Lest yow^r retirement doe amaze yow^r friends:

King. I will doe so, retire braue, sonne unto this tent.

Prin. Retire my lord: no, God forbid a shallow search should driue

The Prince of Wales, from such a feild as this:

Where staine nobillity lies troden one¹

& rebells armes: triumph in massacres

John. We breath to long; com royall brother; come.

Our duty this way lyes; for Gods-sake come.

Exit.

Prin. By God thow hast deceiued me Lancaster:

I did not think thee lord, of such a spiritt

Before I lou'd thee as a brother John:

But now I doe respect thee as my soule

King. I sawe hime hold Lord Percy at the poynt,

With lustious maintenance; then I did looke for

Of such an vngrowne warriar:

Prin. O this boy lends mettall to vs all.

Exit.

Enter DOWGLAS.

Dow. Another king; they grow like Hydres heads
I ame the Dowglas, fatall to all those

¹ Originally "downe."

That weare those cullors on them ; what art thou,
That counterfeit'st the person of a king

King. The king himselfe, who Dowglas greues at hart
So many of his shadowes thou hast mett
& not the king : I haue to boyes :
Seeke Percy & thie selfe, about the field
But seeing thou falls't on me so luckily
I will assaie thee, & defend thieselfe

Dow. I feare thou art another counterfeitt :
& yett infaith thou bearest thee like a king :
But myne I am sure thou art, who ere thou be,
& thus I winne thee :

*They fight, the kinge beinge in danger
Enter Prince of WALES.*

Prin. Hold vp thie head vile Scot, or thou art like
Neuer to hold it vp agayne : the spiritts
Of valliant Sherly, Stafford, Blunt ar in my armes,
It is the Prince of Wales, that threatens thee
Who neuer promiseth ; but he meanes to paie.

They fight ; DOWGLAS flyeth.

Cheerly my lord, how fares yow^r grace
Sir Nicholas Gawsie : hath for succour sent :
& so hath Clifton : Ile to Clifton straight

King. Stay, and breath awhile :
Thou hast redeem'd thie lost opinion
& shewed thou makst some tender of my life
In this faire rescue thou hast brought to me

Prin. O God, they did me to much iniury
That euer said I harkened to yow^r death
If it weare so : I might haue lett alone
The insulting hand of Dowglas ouer yo^w
Which would haue beene as speedy in yow^r end

ACT: IV^a.—SCÆN: 6^{ta}.

Enter HOTSPUR.

Hot. If I mistake not thow art Harry Monmuth

Prin. Thou speakest as if I would deny my name

Hot. My name is Harry Percy :

Prin. Whie then I see a very valliant rebell of that name
I ame the prince of Wales, & think not Percy :

To share with me in glory any more :

Two starrs keep not there motion in on sphere

Nor can on England brook a double raigne

Of Harry Percy : & the Prince of Wales.

Hot. Nor shall it Harry, for the hower is come
To end the on of vs, & would to God,

Thie name in armes : weare now as great as myne

Prin. Ile make it greater : ere I part from thee
And all thie budding honours on thie crest

Ile crop to make a garland for my head.

Hot. I can no longer brooke thie vanityes :

They fight. Enter FALSTALFFE.

Fals. Well said Hall : to it Hall, nay : yow shall find ne
boyes playe here : I can tell yo^w

They wound my thoughts ; worse then the sword my flesh
 But thoughts the slaue of liffe, & sometimes foole :
 & time that takes suruay of all the world,
 Must haue a stop : O I could prophesie
 But that the earth, & cold hand of death :
 Lyes on my tongue. No Percy : thow art dust
 & foode for :——

Prin. For wormes braue Percy : fare thee well great hart
 Ill weau'd Ambition, how much art thow shrounke :
 When that this body did containe a spiritt
 A kingdome for it : was to smalle a bownd :
 But now two paces of the vilest earth
 Is roome enough : this earth that beares the dead
 Beares not aliue so stout a gentleman :
 If thow weart sinsible of curtesie
 I should not make so great a shew of zeale
 But lett my fauours hid thie mangled face
 & euen in thie behalfe Ile thanke my selfe
 For doeing these faire rights of tendernes
 Adiew : & take thie praise with thee to Heauen :
 Thie Ignomy sleepe w^t thee in the graue
 But not remembred in thie epitaph.

He spieth FALSTALFFE on the ground.

What : old acquaintance, cold not all this flesh
 Keep in a little life : poore Jack farewelle,
 I could haue better spar'd a better man
 O I should haue a heauy misse of thee
 If I weare much in loue with vanity :
 Death hath not strooke so faire a deare to daie
 Though many dearer in this bloody fraye :
 Imbowell'd will I see thee ; by & by :
 Till then in blood by noble Percy lye.

FALSTALFFE riseth vp.

Fals. Imbowell'd : if thow imbowell me to daie : Ile giue yo^w

leue to powder me : & eate me too to morrow Zblood. twas time to counterfeitt, or that hott termagant Scot had paid me scot & lott too : counterfiet : I ame no counterfeitt : to die is to be a counterfeitt : for he is but a counterfeitt of a man : who hath not the life of a man. But to counterfeitt dyeing : when a man thereby liueth : is no counterfeitt : but the true & perfect image of life indeed : The better part of vallour is discreation, in the which better part : I haue saued my life : Zounds : I am afraid of this gunpowder Percy : though he be dead : how if he should counterfeitt too & rise : by my faith I am afraid he would proue the better counterfeitt : therefore Ile make hime sure : yea, & Ile sweare I killd hime : whie may not he rise as well as I : Nothinge confuts me but eyes, & nobody sees me : therefore sirra, w^t a new wound in yow^r thigh, come yow along with me.

ACT : IVth—SCÆN : 7th.

He takes up HOTSPUR on his backe : Enter Prince & JOHN of LANCASTER.

Prin. Come brother John, full brauly hast thou flesht
This maiden sword.

John. But softe, who hane we here :
Did not yo^r tell me this fatt man was dead :

Prin. I did, I sawe hime dead :
Breathles, & bleeding on the ground ; art thou aliue
Or is it fantasie, that plaies vpon ouer eye-sight
I prethee speak : we will not trust our eyes
Without our eares : thou art not what thou seem'st

Fals. Noe that's certaine : I ame not a double man, but if I
be not Jacke Falstalffe, then am I a Jack : there is Percy : if
yow^r father will doe me any honour, so : if not, lett hime kill
the next Percy himeselfe : I looke to be either earle, or duke,
I can asure yo^r :

Prin. Whie Percy I kill'd mysele, & saw the dead :

Fals. Didst thou : Lord : Lord : how the world is given to lying : I grant yo^r I was downe & out of breath : & so was he : but we rose both at an instant & fought a long hower by Shrewsbury clocke. If I may be beleueed, so. if not, lett them that should reward valour, beare the sinne vpon their owne heads. Ile take it vpon my death : I gaue hime this wound in the thigh : if the man weare liueing : & would deny it : Zounds I would make hime eate a piece of my sword.

John. This is the strangest tale : that euer I heard.

Prin. This is the strangest fellow : brother John
Com bring yow^r luggage nobly one yow^r backe
For my part if a lye may doe thee good
Ile guild it with the happiest tearmes I haue.

A retreat is sounded :

Prin. The trumpetts sound retreat : the daie is ours :
Com brother : letts to the highest of the field
To see what friends ar liueing, who ar dead.

Exeunt.

Fals. Ile follow as they say : for reward : he that rewards me, God reward hime : If I doe grow great, Ile growe lesse : for Ile purge & leaue sacke : & liue cleanly as a noble-man should doe.

ACT : IVth.—SCÆN : 8th.

*The trumpets sounde ; Enter the Kinge : Prince of WALES,
Lord JOHN of LANCASTER : with WORCESTER prisoners.*

King. Thus euer did rebellion find rebuke :
Ill spirited Worcester, did not we send grace,
Pardon : & tearmes of loue to all of yo^r :
& would'st thou turne our offers contrary
Misuse the tenor of thie kinsmans trust
Three knights vpon our party slaine to daie

A noble earle, & many a creature else
 Had been aliue this hower.
 If like a Christian thow hadst truly borne
 Betwixt our armies true intelligence :

Wor. What I haue don : my safty vrg'd me to
 & I imbrace this fortune patiently
 Scince not to be avoyded ; it falls on me :

King. Beare Worcester to the death :
 Other offenders we will pause vpon
 How goes the field :

Prin. The noble Scot Lord Dowglas : when he saw
 The fortune of the daie quite turn'd from him
 The noble Percy slaine : & all his men
 Vpon the foote of feare, fled with the rest
 & falling from a hill, he was so bruiz'd
 That the pursuers tooke him : at my tent
 The Dowglas is : & I beseech yow^r grace :
 I may dispose of him.

King With all my hart.

Prin. Then brother John of Lancaster
 To yo^r this honourable bounty shall belonge
 Goe to the Dowglas & deliuer him
 Vp to his pleasure, ransomeles & free
 His vallour showne : vpon our crests to day
 Hath taught¹ vs how to cherish such high doeds
 Even in the bosome of our aduarsaries

King. Then this remaines that w^t vnited power
 We meet Northumberland & the prelat Scroope
 Who : as we heare ar busily in armes
 Rebellion in this land : shall loose his swaye
 Meeting the Checke of such another daie :
 & scince this busines so faire is done
 Lett vs not leaue till all our owne be won.

Exeunt.

¹ Originally "showne."

ACT: IVth.—SCENE: 9th.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND: alone in his garden and night-gown.

Northum. Tis noys'd abroad that Harry Monmouth fell
Vnder the wrath of noble Hottspur's sword
& that the kinge vnder the Dowglas rage
Stoopt his anoynted head as low as death:
But yett my hart is dull, & slowe beleife
Takes but faint houldinge: Euery minitt now
Should be the father of sonne stratagem:
The times ar wild: Contention like a horse
Full of high feedinge: madly hath brooke loose:
& beats downe all before hime: Oh I feare.

Enter MOURTON.

My sad hart saies. Rebellion had ill lucke
& that my Harry Percyes spurr is cold:
O thie sad brow, like to a little leafe
Foretells the nature of a tragick volume:
So lookes the Maine: whereon the imperious storme
Hath left a wittnest vsurpation:
Saie Mourton didst thou come frome Shrewsbury.

Mour. I ranne from Shrewsbury: my noble lord
Where hatefull death put on his vgliest masko
To fright our party.

Earle. How doth my sonne & brother
Thow tremblest: & the whittnes in thie cheeko
Is apter then thie tongue: to tell thie arrand
Euen such a man, so faint: so spirittlesse:
So dull: so dead in looke: so woe begone
Drew Priames curtaine in the dead of night
& would haue told hime: halfe his Troy was burnt:
But Priam found the fire: ere he: his tongue
& I my Percy's death: ere thou reports't it

This thow would's't saie : yow^r sonne did thus : & thus :
 Yow^r brother thus : so fought the noble Dowglas
 Stopping my greedy eare w^t theire bould deeds :
 But in the end : to stopp my ear indeed :
 Thow hast a sigh to blow away this praise
 Endinge w^t brother : sonn : & all ar dead.

Mourt. Dowglas is liueinge and yow^r brother yett :
 But for my lord yow^r sonne——

Earle. Whie he is dead :
 See what a ready tongue suspition hath :
 He that but feares the thinge he would not know,
 Hath by instinct, knowledg from others eyes
 That what he fear'd is chanced : yet speake Mourton :
 Tell thow an earle : his diuination lyes :
 & I will take it as a sweet disgrace
 & make thee rich : for doeing me such wrong

Mour. Yow ar too great to be by me gainsaid
 Yow^r spiritt is to true : yow^r feares to certaine

Earle. Yett for all this : saie not that Percy's dead
 I see a strange confession in thine eye
 Thow shak'st thie head, & holds't it feare or sine
 To speake a truth : if he be slaine
 The tongue offends not ; that reports his death
 & he doth sinne that doth bely the dead :
 Not he which saies the dead is not aliue
 Yett the first bringer of vnwellcome newes
 Hath but a loosinge office ; & his tongue
 Sounds euer after as a sullen bell
 Rembring tolling a departing friend :

Bar. I cannot thinke my lord : yow^r sonne is dead

Mour. I am sorry I should force yow^w to beleue
 That which I would to God I had not seene
 But these my eyes saw hime in bloody state
 Rendring faint quittance : wearied & out-breath'd
 To Harry Monmouth : whose swift wrath beat downe

The neuer daunted Percy : to the earth
 From whence w^t life he neuer more sprunge vp
 In few his death : whose spiritt lent a fire
 Euen to the dullest peasant in his came
 Being bruted once : took heat & fire away
 Then feare gaue wings to flight : the sume of all
 Is that the king hath wonne : & hath sent out
 A speedy power to incounter yo^w my lord :

Ear. For this I shall haue time enough to mourne :
 In poyson : there is phisicke, & these newes
 Haueing been well, that would haue made me sicke
 Beinge sicke : haue in some measure made me well :
 & as the wretch whose feuer weakned joynts
 Like strengthlesse hinges : buckle vnder life
 Impatient of his fitt, breakes like a fire
 Out of his keepers armes : euen so my limbes
 Weakened w^t griefe : being now inrag'd w^t griefe
 Ar thrise themselues : hence therefore nice crutch :
 A scaly gauntlett now with joynts of steele
 Most gloue this hand : & hence thow sickly coife
 Thow art a gaurd : too wanton for the head
 Which princes : flesht w^t conquest : aime to hitt
 Now bind my browes w^t iron : & aproch :
 The raggedst hower : that time & spight dare bring
 To frowne vpon thinrag'd Northumberland
 Lett heauen kisse earth ; now lett not natures hand
 Keepe the wild flood confin'd : lett order dye :
 & lett this world noe longer be a stage
 To feede contention in a lingring act.

Mor. The liues of all yow^r loueing complices
 Leane on yo^w health the which if yo^w giue ore
 To stormy passion, must perforce decaye
 We all thatt ar ingaged to this lose
 Knew that we ventured on such dangerous seas
 That if we wrought out life ; 'twas ten to on

& yett we ventur'd for the gaine propos'd
 Choakt the respect of likely perill fear'd
 & scince we are oresett ; venture againe
 Com : we will all putt forth body & goods.

Northum. Goe in w^t me, & counsell euery man
 The aptest waie for safty & revendge
 Gett posts & letters : & make friends w^t speed
 Neuer so few : & neuer yett more need.

Exeunt.

ACT : IV^a.—SCÆN : 10^{ma}.

Enter Sir JOHN FALS. & Hostesse.

Fals. But thinge ; thow wilt not lay a pewter pestle on my
 shoulders ; saie :

Host. I am vndone by thie goeing : thow art an infinitiue
 thinge vpon my score : thow owest me a hundreth markes
 almost : & I haue borne, and I haue borne and I haue borne ;
 fub'd off : & fub'd off & fub'd off. from this daie ; to that daie ;
 that it is a shame to be thought on : vnlesse a woman should
 be made an asse and a beast to beare euery knaues wrong.

Fals. Peace kitten ; or yo^w shall now in the channell.

Host. Throwe me into the Channell : Ile throw thee into the
 chañell : Wilt thow : wilt thow : the offecers ar at the dore
 to arast thee ; thow bastardly rogue : murder : murder : ah
 thow hony-sucker villaine Ah thow hony-seed rogue : a man
 queller & a woman queller.

Bard. Fie Sir John : doe not draw vpon a woman :

Fals. Peace Lucifer :

Host. Stab me in my owne howse : Most beastly in good
 faith : he cares not what mischief he doth ; if his weapon be
 out : he will foyne like any diuell he will spare neither man :
 woman : nor child : helpe master Synok.

Fals. Hostesse : heare me quickly ; what is the grose sume
 I owe yo^w.

Host. Mary if thou weart an honest man: thieself & thie mony too: thou didst sweare to me vpon a parcell gilt goblett: sitting in my dollphine chamber at the round table: by a sea-cole-fire: vpon Wednesdaie in Wheeson weeke: when the prince broke thie head: for liking his father to a singing man of Winsor: thou didst sweare to me then: as I was washing thie wound: to marry me; & to make me my lady thie wife: Canst thou denye it: did not goodwife Keech the butchers wife com in then and call me gossip: Quickly comming in to borrow a messe of vinegar: telling vs shee had a good dish of prawnes: whereby thou didst desire to eate some: whereby I told thee they weare ill for a green wound: & didest thou not: when she was gone downe staires: desire me to be no more so familiarity with such poore people: saying that ere long they should call me madame: & didst not thou kisse me: and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings: I put thee now to thie booke oath: deny it if thou canst.

Fals. All this I confesse; and send away the officer below I will performe it: I vow here before Bardolfe

Falstalff whispers to her: & then speakes.

An this I sweare as I am a gentleman: a knight: a souldier: & a captaine.

Host. Faith yo^w said so before.

Fals. As I am a gentle^l, come: noe more words of it

Host. By this heaucnly ground I tread on: I must be faine to pawne: both my plate: & the tapestry of my dining chambers.

Fals. Glasses: glasses: is the only drinking: and for thie walles: a pritty slight drollery, or the story of the prodigall: or the Jarman Hunting in watter worke, is worth a thowsand of these bed-hangers and these flie-bitten tapestry. Lett it be ten pownd if thou canst: come: if it weare not for thie humors, there's not a better wench in England: Goe wash thie face: and drawe the action: com: thou must not be in this humor with

THE HISTORY OF

: dost not knowe me : Com : com, I know thou wast sett on to this.

Host. Praie Sir John lett it be but twenty nobles : Ifaith I am loath to pawne my plate : so God saue me.

Fals. Lett it alone, I'll make other shift : yow'll be a foole

Host. Well yo^r shall haue it, though I pawne my gowne : I hope yow'll come to supper ; yow'll paie me all together.

Fals. Will I liue ; come if it weare not for these humors, there is not a better wench in Cristendoom come : kisse & goe in.
Exeunt.

ACT : Vth : SCÆN : 1st.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND & the wife to Harry Percy.

Nor. I praie thee gentle daughter :
Giue euen waye vnto my rough affaires
Put not yo^r on the visage of the times
& be like them : to Percy troublesome

Kate. O yet for Gods-sake : goe not to these warre
The tyme was father : when yo^r broke yow^r word
When yow weare more endeere to it then now :
When yow^r owne Percy ; when my owne deere Harry
Threw many a north-ward looke : to see his father
Bring vp his powers ; but he did long in vaine :
Who then perswaded yo^r to stay at home :
There weare two honours lost ; yow^{rs} & yow^r sonnes
For yow^{rs} the good of Heauen brighten it
For his ; it stuck vpon as the sunne
In the grey vault of heauen : & by his light
Did all the chiualltry of England moue :
To doe brane acts : he was indeed the glasse
Wherein the noble youth did dresse themselues
Nor. Beshrew yow^r harte

Faire daughter: yo^w doe drawe my spiritts from me
 W^t new lamenting ancient ouersights:
 But I must goe & meet w^t daunger there
 Or it will seeke me in another place
 & finde me worse prouided

Kate. O fly to Scoteland
 Till that the nobles: & the armed commons
 Haue of their puissance made a little tast
 If they gett ground & vantag of the kinge
 Then joyne yo^w w^t them like a ribbe of steele
 To make strength stronger: but for all our loues
 First lett them trye themselues: so did yow^r sonne
 He was so suffered: so came I a widdow
 & neuer shall haue length of life enough
 To raine vpon remembrance w^t myne eyes
 That it may growe & sprout: as high as Heauen:
 For recordation to my noble husband.

Nor. Come. come, goe in with me: 'tis w^t my mynd,
 As w^t the tide swel'd vp vnto his hight
 That makes a still stand: running neither way
 Faine would I goe to meet the archbishope.
 But many thowsand reasons keepe me backe:
 I will resolute for Scoteland; there ame I
 Till time & vantage craue my company.

Exeunt

ACT: Vth.—SCÆN: 2^{da}.

Enter the Kinge in his nightgowne.

King. Goe call the Earles of Surrey & of War
 But ere they come: bid them ore-reade these lett^{ers}
 & well consider of them: make good speed:
 How many thowsand of my poorest subiects
 Ar at this hower asleepe: O sleepe: O gentle sleepe
 Natures soft nurse: how haue I frighted thee

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a more willt waigh my eye-liddes downe
 deep my senses in forgettfullnes
 sleepe lyeest thou in smoakie cribbes
 palletts streching thee
 buzzing night-flies to thie slumber
 in perfum'd chambers of the great
 the canopies of costly state :
 and w^t sound of sweete melodye :
 thou dull god : whie ly'st thou w^t the vile
 loathsome beds, leausing the kingly couch :
 watch-case, or a common larrum bell
 O thou vpon the high & giddy masse
 sale vp the shipboies eyes : & rocke his braines
 in cradle of the rude imperious surg :
 in the visitation of the winds
 to take the ruffian pillowes by the top
 rling their monstrous heads & hanging them
 leaffing clamor in the slippery clowds
 That w^t the hurly death it selfe awakes
 Canst thou O partiall sleep giue them repose
 To the weat season : in an hower so rude
 & in the calmest & most stillest night
 With all appliances & meanes to boote
 Deny it to a king ; then (happie) low ly downe
 Vneasie lyes the head that weares a crowne :

ACT: V^a.—SCÆN: 3^{ua}.

Enter WARWIKE: SUREY & Sir JOHN BLUNT.

War. Many good morrowes to yow^r maiesty

King. Is it good morrow lords

War. 'Tis on a'clock & past

King. Whie then good morrowe to yo^w all my lords
 Haue yow reade o're the letter that I sent yo^w.

War. My leidg I haue

King. Then yo^w perceiue the bodie of our kingdome
How fowle it is, what rancke diseases growe
& with what danger, neare the hart of it

War. It is but as a body yett distempered
Which to his former health may be restored
W^t good aduise & little medicine
My lord Northumberland will soone be coold

King. O God that one might read the booke of fate
& see the reuolution of the times
Make mountaines leuell: & the continent
Weary of solide firmnesse melt it selfe
Into the sea: & other times to see
The breachie girdle of the ocean:
To wid for Neptunes hipes: how chances mockes
& changes fill the cup of alteration
W^t diuers lickquors: O if this weare seene:
The happiest youth vewing his progresse through:
What perrills past: what crosses to ensue
Would shutt the booke: & sitt hime downe & die:
'Tis not ten yeares agon
Since Richard & Northumberland great friends
Did feast together: & in two yeares after
Weare they at warrs: it is but eight yeares since
This Percy was the man neerest my sowle
Who like a brother toil'd in my affaiers:
And laid his loue & life vnder my foote:
Yea for my sake, euen to the eyes of Richard
Gaue hime defieance, but which of yow was by:
Yo^w coosine Neuell (as I may remember)
When Richard w^t his eye-brimme full of teares
Then checkt & rated by Northumberland
Did speake these words now proue a prophesie
Northumberland: thow ladder by the which
My coosen Bullengbrooke asends my throne

(Though then (God knowes) I had noe such intent
 But that necessitye so bowed the state :
 That I & greatnes weare compell'd to kisse.)
 The time shall come : thus did he follow it,
 The time shall come : that fowle sinne gathering head :
 Shall breake into corruption : so went on :
 Foretelling this same times condition
 & the diuision of our amitye :

War. There is a history in all mens liues
 Figuring the natures of the times deceast
 The which obseru'd a man may prophesie
 With a nere ayne of the mayn chance of things
 As yett not come to life ; who in their seedes
 & weake beginninge lye intreasured :
 Such things become the hatch & broode of time
 & by the nessesary forme of this
 King Richard might creat a perfect guesse
 That great Northumberland then faulse to hime
 Would of that seed grow to a greater falsnes :
 Which would not find a ground to roote vpon
 Vnlesse on yo^r.

King. Ar these thinges then necessities :
 Then lett vs meet them like necessities
 And that same word euen now cryes out vpon us :
 They saio the Bishope & Northumberland
 Ar fifty thowsand stronge.

War. It cannot be my lord :
 Rumor doth double like the voyce & eccho
 The number of the feared : please it yowr grace
 To goe to bed : vpon my soule : my lord :
 The powers that yo^r already haue sett forth
 Shall bring this prize in verry easily :
 To comfort yo^r the more I haue receued
 A certaine instance that Glendower is dead :
 Yow^r Maiestie hath beene this fortnight ill

& these vnseasoned howers perforce must add
Vnto yow^r sicknes :

King. I will take yow^r counsell
And weare these inward warres once out of hand
We would deere lords vnto the Holy Land.

Exeunt :

*Enter the Kinge, WARWIKE, KENT, THOMAS Duke of CLARENCE,
HUMPHRY of GLOUCESTER.*¹

King. Now my lord : if God doe giue succesfull end
To this debate that bleedeth at our dores :
We will our youth leade on to higher feilds
And drawe noe swords : but what are sanctified :
Our nauy is adrest : our power collected :
Our substitutes in absences well inuested :
& euery thing lyes leuell to our wish :
Only we want a little personall strength :
And pawse us till these rebells now afoote
Com vnderneath the yoake of gouernment :

War. Both w^{ch} we doubt not but yow^r Maiestie
Shall soone enjoye.

King. Humphrey my sonne of Gloster: where is the prince
yow^r brother :

Glo. I thinke hees gone to hunt : my lord : at Winsor

King. And how accompanide

Glo. I doe not knowe : my lord.

Kinge. Is not his brother Thomas of Clarence w^t hime

Glo. No my good lord : he is in presence here

Clar. What would my lord & father :

Kinge. Nothing but well to thee Thomas of Clarence
How chance thow art not with the prince thie brother :
He loues thee : & thow dost neglect hime : Thomas :
Thow hast a better place in his affection

¹ These two stage-directions are scratched through with a pen.

Then all thie brothers : Cherish it my boy
 & noble offices thow maiest affect
 Of meditation after I am dead :
 Between his greatnes & thie other bretheren :
 Therefore omitt hime not : blunt not his loue
 Nor loose the good aduantage of his grace
 By seeming cold : or carelesse of his will :
 For he is grations. if he be obseru'd :
 He hath a teare for pittie : & a hand
 Open as daie for meeting charitty
 Yett notw^tstanding being insencst he is flint
 As humorus as winter : & as suddaine
 As flawes congealed in the spring of daie :
 His temper therefore must be well obseru'd,
 Chide hime for faultts : & doe it reuerently
 When yo^r perceiue his blood inclin'd to mirth :
 Butt being moodie : giue hime time & scope :
 Till that his passions like a whale on ground
 Confound themselues w^t working : learne this Thomas :
 And thou shalt proue a shelter to thie friends
 A hoope of gold : to bind thie brothers in
 That the vnited vessell of their blood
 (Mingled w^t venome of suggestion
 As force perforce the age will power it in)
 Shall neuer leake : though it doe work as strong
 As aconitum : or rash gunpowder :

Cla. I shall obserue hime with all care & loue

King. Whie art not thow at Winsor w^t hime Thomas

Thom. He is not there to daie ; he dines at London

King. & how accompainied :

Thom. With Poynes & others his continewall followers :

King. Most subiect is the fattest soile to weeds :

& he the noble image of my youth

Is ouerspread with them : therefore my grieffe

Stretches it selfe : beyound the hower of death :

The blood weepes from my hart when I doe shape
 In formes imaginary th' unguided daies
 & rotten times that yo^w shall looke vpon :
 When I am sleepeing with my ancestours :
 For when this head-stronge riott hath noe curbe :
 When rage & hott blood ar his counsellors :
 When meanes ; & lauish maners meet together
 O w^t what wings shall his affections flye
 Towards fronting perill : & opos'd decay

War. My gracious lord, yo^w looke beyound hime quite
 The prince but studies his companions
 Like a strang tongue ; Wherein to gaine the language
 'Tis needfull that the most imōdest word
 Be lookt vpon : & learn'd : w^{ch} once attained
 Yow^r highnes knowes : comes to noe further vse
 But to be knowne & hated ; so : like grosse termes :
 The prince will in the perfectnes of time
 Cast of his followers, & their memory
 Shall as a patterne : or a measure lyne
 By w^{ch} his grace must meete the liues of other
 Turning past euells : to aduantages :

King. 'Tis seldome when the bee doth leaue her combe

ACT: V.^a.—SCÆN: 4th.

Ente WESTMERLAND.

In the dead carion ; Whose here Westmerland

West. Health to my soueraigne : & new happines
 Added to that. that I am to deliuer :
 Prince John yow^r sonne doth kisse yow^r graces hand :
 Mowbray the bishope, Scroope, Hastings & all
 Ar brought to the correction of yow^r lawe :
 There is not now a rebells sword vnshea'd
 But peace putts forth her oliue euey where

Enter HARCOR.

The lifting vp of daie : looke here's more newes :

Harc. Frome enymies : heauen keepe yow^r Maiesty
& when they stand against yo^w : may they fall
As those that I am come to tell yo^w of :
The Earle Northumberland : & the lord Bardolfe
W^t a great power of English : & of Scotts
Ar by the shreife of Yorke-sheire ouerthrowne
The manner & true order of the fight
This packett : please it yo^w : declares at large :

King. And wherefore should this good newes make me sick
Will fortune neuer come w^t both hands full
But wett her faire words still in fowlest termes :
Shee either gines a stomach & no foode
Such ar the poore in health : or else a feast
& takes away the stomach : such ar the rich
That haue aboundance : & enjoie it not :
I should reioyce now at this happie newes : .
But now my sight failes : & my braine is giddy :
O me : come nere me : now I am much ill :

Glos. Comfort yow^r Maiesty :

Clar. O my royall father :

West. My conseruative lord : cheere vp yourself : looke vp

So thin : that life lookes through :

Glo. The people feare me, for they doe obserue
Vnfather'd heires : & lothly births of nature :
The seasons chang their manners : as the yeare
Had found some monthes asleepe : & leap them ouer :

Clar. The riuer hath thrise flowed : noe ebbe betweene :
& the old folke (times doteing chronicles)
Saie it did so a little time before

That our great grandsir Edward sickt & died

War. Speake lower princes : for the king recouers :

Glo. This apoplexi will certaine be his end.

King. I praie yo^w take me vp : & beare me hence :
Into some other chamber :

Lett there be no noyce made, my gentle friends
Vnlesse some dull : & fauorable hand

Will whisper musique to my weary spiritt

War. Call for the musique in the other roome

King. Sett me the crowne vpon my pillowe here

Clar. His eye is hollow : & he changes much :

ACT. Vth.—SCÆN : 5th.

Enter HARRY.

War. Lesse noyce : lesse noyce :

Prin. Who sawe the duke of Clarence :

Clar. I am here brother : full of heauenes :

Prin. How now : raine w^t in dores : & none abroade :
How doth the king :

Cla. Exceeding ill.

Prin. Heard he the good newes yett : tell it hime.

Cla. He altred much vpon the heareing of it :

Prin. If he be sicke w^t joye : heele recouer w^tout phisicke :

War. Not so much noyce my lords : sweet prince speake
Low : the king yow^r father is dispos' to sleepe

O poyntant perturbation : golden care
That keepst the portts of slumber open wide
To many a watchfull night : sleepe w^t it now
Yett not so sound : & half so deeply sweet
As he whose browe (w^t homly biggen bound
Snores out the watch of night : O maiestie
When thou dost pinch thie bearer thou dost sitt
Like a rich armor : wore in heat of daie
That scald'st with safty : (by his gattes of breath)
There lies a dowlly fether which stirrs not
Did he suspire : that light & waightles dowlne
Perforce must mooue my grations lord my father :
This sleepe is sownd indeed ; this is a sleepe :
That frome this golden rigoll hath diforst
So many English kings ; thie dew frome me
Is teares : & heauy sorrowes of the blood, '
Which nature : loue : & filiall tendernes :
Shall (O deere father) paie thee plenteously :
My due from thee is this imperiall crowne :
W^{ch} as immediate from thie place & blood
Deriues it selfe to me : Loe where it sitts
W^{ch} God shall gaurd : & putt the worlds whole strength
Into on giant arme : it shall not force :
~~This lineall honore from me : this from thee~~

ACT: Vth.—SCÆN: 6th.

Enter WARWICKE, GLOUCESTER, CLARENCE.

Kinge. Warwicke: Gloucester: Clarence:

Clar. Doth the king call:

War. What would yow^r Maiesty

King. Whie did yo^w leaue me here alone my lords:

Clar. We left the prince my brother here my liedge:
Who vndertooke to sitt & watch by yo^w:

King. The prince of Wales: where is he? lett me:
See hime: he is not here.

War. This dore is open: he is gone this way:

Glo. He came not through the chamber where we staid

King. Where is the crowne: who tooke it from my pillowe:

War. When we w^ddrew my leidg, we left it here:

King. The prince hath tane it hence: goe seeke hime out:
Is he so hastie: that he doth suppose my sleepe. my death:
Find hime: my lord of Warwick: chid hime hither:
This part of his conjoynes w^t my disease:
& helpes to end me: see, sonnes: what things yo^w ar
How quickly nature falls into revoult,
When gold becomes her object:

For this: the foolish ouer carefull fathers

Haue broke their sleepe w^t thoughts

Theire braines w^t care: their boones w^t industry:

For this: they haue ingrossed & pill'd vp

The cankred heapes of strang atcheeu'd gold:

For this they haue been thoughtfull to invest

'Theire sonnes w^t arts: & martiall exercises:

When like the bee: toyleing from euery flower

Our thigh packt w^t wax: our mouthes w^t hony:

We bring it to the hiue: & like the bees

Ar murdered for our paines: this bitter tast

Yeilds his engrossments to the ending father:

THE HISTORY OF

he : that will not stay so long
ni : sicknes hands determin'd me

Enter WARWIKE

lord : I found the prince in the next roome
w^t kindly teares : his gentle cheekes
such a deepe demeaner in great sorrowe
tirany : which neuer quast but blood :
ld by beholding hime haue washt his knife
gentle eye-dropes : he is coming hither.

ACT : Vth.—SCÆN : 7th.

Enter HARRY.

g. But wherefore did he take away the crowne
where he comes.—come hither to me Harry :
rt the chamber leane vs here alone.

Exeunt.

Har. I neuer thought to heare yo^r speake againe

Kings. Thie wish was (Harry) to that thought

I staie to long by thee : I weary thee :

Dost thou so hunger for my emptie chaire

Thou wilt needs invest me w^t my honours

Before thie hower be ripe : O foolish youth :

Thou seek'st the greatnes y^t will ouerwhelme thee

Staie but a little : for my cloud of dignity

Is held from falling w^t so weake a winde

That it will quickly drope : my daie is dime :

Thou hast stollen that, which after some few howers

Weare thine w^tout offence : & at my death :

Thou hast seal'd vp my expectation :

This life did manifest thou loued'st me not :

& thou wilt haue me dye : asur'de of it

Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thie thoughts

Whome thou hast whetted on thie stony hart
 To stab at halfe an hower of my life :
 What can'st thou not forbear me halfe an hower
 Then gett thee gon : & digg my graue thie selfe
 And bid the merry bells ring to thine care
 That thou art crowned ; not that I am dead :
 Lett all the teares that should bedew my hearse
 Be drops of balme : to sanctifie thie head :
 Only compound me with forgotten dust
 Giue that w^{ch} gaue thee life, vnto the wormes :
 Pluck downe my officers : breake my decrees :
 For now a time is come to mocke at forme :
 Harry the fift is crown'd, vp vanity :
 Downe royall state : all yo^w sage counsaillors : hence
 & to the English court asemble now
 From euery region : apes of idlenesse :
 Now neighbour confines : purge yow of yow^r scume
 Haue yo^w a ruffaine that will sweare, drinke, daunce,
 Reuell the night : rob : murder : or co^mitt
 The oldest sinnes : the newest kind of waies
 Be happie he will trouble yo^w noe more
 England shall double gilld his treble gilt
 England shall giue hime office, honour, might,
 For the fift Harry : from curb'd lycence : pluckes
 The musle of restraint, & the wildd dogge
 Shall flesh his tooth on euery innocent :
 O my poore kingdome sicke w^t siuell blowes :
 When that my care could not w^hould thie riotts
 Whatt wilt thou doe when riott is thie care :
 O thou wilt be a wildernessse againe :
 Peopled w^t woulues thie old inhabitants.

Prin. O pardon me my leidge : but for my teares
 The most impediments vnto my speach
 I had forestal'd this deere : & deep rebuke
 Ere yow w^t grieve had spoke : & I had heard

The course of it so farre: there is yow^r crowne
& He that weares the crowne immortally
Long gaurd it yow^r: if I affect it more
Then as yow^r honour: & as yow^r renowne:
Lett me no more frome this obeidience rise
W^{ch} my most inward: true: & dutious spiritt
Teacheth this prostrate & exterior bending:
God wittnes w^t me: when I heare came in
& found noe course of breath w^tin yow^r maiesty
How cold it stroke my hart: if I doe faine:
O lett me in my present wildnes die:
& neuer lue to shew the incredulous world
The noble change that I haue purposed:
Coming to looke on yo^w: thinkeing yo^w dead:
& dead almost my leidg: to thinke yo^w weare:
I spake vnto this crowne as haueing sence
& thus vpbraided it; the care on thee depending
Hath fed vpon the bodie of my father:
Therefore thow best of gold: art worse then gold:
Other lesse fine in karrat more pretious
Preserueing life in medicine potable:
But thow most finne, most honour'd, most renown'd:
Hast eate thie bearer vp: thus my most royall liedge
Accusing it, I put it one my head:
To try w^t it as w^t an enemy
That had before my face, murdered my father;
The quarrell of a true inheritor:
But if it did infect my blood w^t joy
Or swell my thoughts to any straine of pride
If any reble or vaine spiritt of myne
Did w^t the least affection of a wellcome
Giue entertainment to the might of it
Lett God for euer keep it from my head
& make me as the poorest vassaill is
That doth w^t aw & terror kneell to it

King. God put it in thie mind to take it hence :
That thou mightst winne the more thie fathers loue
Pleading so wisly in an excuse of it :
Come hither Harry sitt thou by my bed
& heare (I think) the very latest counsaile
That euer I shall breath (God knowes) my sonne
By what by-waies & indirect crokt pathes
I mett this crowne : & I myselfe knowe well
How troublesome it satt vpon my head :
To thee it shall dessend w^t better quiett,
Better opinion, better confirmation :
For all the soile of the atchieuement goes
W^t me into the earth : it seem'd w^t me
But as an honour snatcht w^t boystorus hand
& I had many liueing to vpbraid
My gaine of it, by theire assistances
W^{ch} daiely grew to quarrells & to bloodshed
Wounding supposed peace : all these bold feares
Thow seest w^t perill I haue answeared :
For all my raigne hath beene but as a scene
Acting that argument : & now my death
Changes the mood : for what in me was purchast
Falls apon thee in a more fairer sort :
So thou the garland wear'st successiuely :
Yett though thou stand'st more sure then I could doe :
Thow art not firme enough : since griefes ar greene
& all thie friends w^{ch} thou must make thie friends
Haue but theire stings & teeth newly tane out
By whose fell working I was first aduans't
& by whose power I well might lodge a feare
To be agayne displeas'd : w^{ch} to auoyd
I cut them off, & had a purpose : now
To lead out many to the Holy Land,
Lest rest : & lyeing still, might make them looko
Too nere vnto my state : therefore. my Harry :

Be it thie course to bussie giddy mynds
 W^t forraine quarrells : that action hence borne out
 May wast the memory of former daies
 More would I, but my lungs ar wasted so :
 That strength of speech is vtterly deny'd me
 How I came by the crowne : O God forgiue :
 & grant it may w^t thee in true peace line

Prin. Yo^r wonne it, wore it, kept it, gaue it me :
 Then plaine & right must my possession be
 W^{ch} I w^t more then with a common paine
 Gainst all the world will rightfully maintaine.

ACT : Vth.—SCÆN : 8th.

Enter LANCASTER.

King. Looke looke here comes my John of Lancaster
Lan. Health : peace : & happines to my royall father
King. Thow bringest me happines & peace sonne John
 But health alake w^t youthfull wings is flowne :
 Frome this bare withered trunck : vpon thie sight
 My worldly busines makes a period :
 Where is my lord of Warwicke

Prin. My lord of Warwicke.¹

King. Doth any name particular belonge
 Vnto the lodgeing where I first did sownd :

War. 'Tis call'd Jerusalem my noble lord

King. Laud be to God euen there my life must end
 It hath bine prophesied to me many yeares
 I should not die : but in Jerusalem :
 W^{ch} vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land :
 But beare me to that chamber : there Ile lye
 In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

Ereunt

Manet WAR :

¹ A pen has been drawn through this line

ACT : V^a.—SCÆN : 9^{aa}.*Enter JOHN, THOMAS & HUMPHRY.*

War. Here comes the heauy issue of dead Harry
 O that the liueing Harry had the temper
 Of he ; the worst of these three gentlemen
 How many nobles then should hold their places
 That must strike saile to spiritts of vile sort :

John. Goodmorrow coosine Warwicke good morrow :

Princes both. Good morrow coosine.

John. We meet like men that had forgott to speake

War. We doe remember, but our argument
 Is all to heauy to admitt much talke

John. Well, peace be w^t hime y^t made us heauy

War. Peace be w^t us lest we be heauier

Clar. Well yo^w must now speake Si^r John Falstaf^e faire :
 Which swimes against yow^r stream of quality :

ACT : V^a.—SCÆN : 10^{ma}.*Enter the Prince & BLUNT.*

War. Here comes the Prince
 Good morrowe & God saue yow^r maiesty

Prin. This new & gorgeous garment maiesty
 Sitts not so easie one me : as yo^w thinke :
 Brothers : yo^w mixt yow^r sadnes w^t some feare :
 This is the English, not the Turkish court
 Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds
 But Harry, Harry : yett be sad good brothers
 For by my faith it very well becomes yo^w :
 Sorrowe so royally in yo^w apeares
 That I will deeply put the fashion on
 & weare it in my hart : whie then be sad

But entertaine no more of it good brothers :
 Then a joynt burden : laid vpon vs all
 For me, by Heauen, (I bid yo^w be assur'd)
 Ile be yow^r father : & a brother too :
 Lett me but beare yow^r loue : Ile beare yow^r cares :
 Yett weepe that Harryes dead & so will I
 But Harry liues : that shall conuert those teares
 By number into howers of happines :

Broth. We hope no otherwise from yow^r Majestie :

Prin. Yo^w all looke strangely on me : *well you may*¹
 For princes all : beleue me I beseech yo^w
 My father is gon wild into his graue :
 For in his tombe lye my affections :
 & w^t his spiritts sadly I suruine
 To mocke the expectation of the world :
 To frustrate prophesies, & to race out
 Rotten opinion : who hath writt me downe
 After my seemig : the tide of blood in me
 Hath proudly flow'd in vanity till now :
 Now doth it turne, & ebb backe to the sea ;
 Where it shall mingle w^t the state of floods
 & flowe hencefoorth in formall Maiesty :
 [Now call we our high court of parlement
 & lett vs chuse such limbes of noble counsaile
 That the great body of our state may goe
 In equall ranke w^t the best gouern'd nation
 That warr : or peace : or both at once may be
 As things acquainted : or familliar w^t us :
 Our coronation done, we will accitte
 (As I before remembred) all our state.²]
 And (God consigning to my good intents)

¹ Added by Sir E. Deryng.

² The eight lines within brackets have a line marked on the margin of the original manuscript, apparently with a view to their omission.

No prince nor peere shall haue just cause to saie
God shorten Harryes happie life on daie.

Exit.

Enter the King & his traine

Fals. God saue thie grace king Hall, my royall Hall :
The Heauens thee gaurd : & keep :
Most royall imp of fame, God saue thee
My sweet boy :

King. [My lord Cheife Justice],¹ speake to that vaine man
Justice. Haue yo^w yowr witts : know yo^w what tis yo^w
speake

Fals. My king : my Joue : I speake to thee my hart :

King. I knowe thee not old man fall to thie praiers
How ill whitt haires become a foole & Jester
I haue long dreampt of such a kind of man
So surfett swell'd : so old : & so prophane,
But being awake : I doe despice my dreame
Make lesse thie bodie (hence) & more thie grace
Leaue gourmandizing, know the graue doth gape
For thee thrise wider then for other men
Replie not to me w^t a foole-borne jest
Presume not that I am the thinge I was,
For God doth know : so shall the world perceiue
That I haue turn'd away my former selfe :
So will I those that keepe me company :
When thou dost heare I am as I haue beene
Approach me & thou shalt be as thou wast
The tutor, & the feeder of my royotts
Till then I banish thee : on paine of death
As I haue done the rest of my misleaders
Not to come neere our person by ten miles :
For competence of life, I will alow yo^w

¹ Instead of this, Deryng writes, "Brother of Clarence." The next speech he gives to Clarence.

That lacke of meanes enforce yo^w not to euell^a
& as we heare yow doe reforme yow^r selues
We will according to yow^r strength & qualityes
Giue yo^w aduancement [as you shall deserue itt
Now change our thoughtes for honour and renowne
And since y^e royalty and crowne of Fraunce
Is due to vs wee'll bring itt to our awe,
Or breake itt all to peeces—Vanityes farewell
Wee'll now act deedes for chronicles to tell.]¹

¹ The part between brackets is in the handwriting of Sir Edward Deryng, the original scribe having written the conclusion in two lines, which are completely obliterated.

FINIS.

N O T E S.

Page 4, line 11. And force proude Mahomett from Palestine.] This line is not found in any printed edition. It is not one of Sir E. Deryng's additions, but is written in the same hand with the body of the manuscript, taking the place of the following :

“ Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

Page 4, line 20. Now is twelue-month's old.] The printed edition reads, “is a twelvemonth old.”

Page 4, line 23. Sonne of Lancaster.] This is instead of “cousin Westmoreland,” to whom the succeeding speech is given in the other copies. Several changes are made in this scene in the distribution of the speeches.

Page 5, line 13. Like.] The quartos of 1598 and 1599 read *did*, which is adopted by Mr. Collier; but the later editions agree with our text.

Page 5, line 14. Far.] The quarto of 1613, and the folio of 1623, read *farre*, but the earlier editions “for.”

Page 6, line 4. In faith it is.] This of course belongs to the next speech, which is assigned to Westmorland in the printed copies.

Page 6, line 8. Of.] The early quartos read “to.”

Page 6, line 25. Respects.] Printed eds. “aspects.”

Page 7, line 9. Afternoone.] “In the afternoone,” ed. 1623.

Page 7, line 15. Superfluous.] “So superfluous,” ed. 1598. The other quartos agree with our text.

Page 7, line 18. *Seauen starea.*] The early quartos read "*the seven stars.*" The edition of 1613, as well as the folio, omits "the."

Page 8, line 22. *Long.*] "*Far,*" printed ed.

Page 8, line 24. *Not.*] Omitted in the folio.

Page 8, line 25. *Thou wouldst be trusted no more.*] In making this addition to the original text, Deryng probably felt how incomplete the sentence was without some similar termination; nor does the pause exactly agree with the context. If we could believe that this was copied from some text of authority, we could hardly question the propriety of admitting it as genuine.

Page 9, line 21. *But if thou hadst preferd him to a pulpett thou hadst done better.*] The printed editions read, "for wisdom cries out in the streets, and no man regards it." I should be somewhat inclined to admit the MS. reading in the text, for it is not one of the later alterations; and if we joined the two passages good sense would result, e.g., "*Thou didst well; but if thou hadst preferr'd him to a pulpit, thou hadst done better, for wisdom cries out in the streets, and no man regards it.*" The conclusion of the preceding speech seems to warrant this reading.

Page 9, line 24. *Vnto.*] "*Upon,*" ed. 1666.

Page 10, line 19. *Gadshill.*] This place was notorious for robberies in Elizabeth's time. A ballad entitled "the robbery at Gads hill" was entered on the Registers of the Stationers' Company in 1558. See Warton's *Hist. Engl. Poet.*, iii., 322. A poem entitled *Clavell's Recantation* was printed in 1634. Clavell was a robber, and here recites his own adventures on the highway. His first depredations were on Gads Hill. (*Ib.*) See also a communication by Sir H. Ellis in *Malone's Shakespeare* by Boswell, xvi., 432.

Page 10, line 26. *Edward.*] The printed editions read "*Yedward,*" probably an error. It may have arisen from the word "ye" before it being confused in the writing with "Edward."

Page 11, line 17. *Harvay.*] Probably one of the names of the actors. In other of the old copies we have *Rossil* for *Peto*. This partial correction is worthy of observation, as it would go towards showing the MS. is not copied from any of the printed editions: but see p. 24.

Page 13, line 8. *Prayes.*] An error for "payes."

Page 14, line 26. *This.*] "*That,*" ed. 1623.

Page 15, line 14. *The.*] "*That,*" eds. 1598, 1599.

Page 16, line 12. Not hime.] "Him not" printed eds.

Page 17, line 6. Yea on his part.] So the quartos. The folio edition reads, "In his behalf," not "*on* his behalf," as quoted by Mr. Collier, who however adopts our reading as of more authority than the former.

Page 17, line 8. Downe-trodd.] "Downfall," ed. 1623.

Page 18, line 21. Put.] "Shook," printed eds.

Page 21, line 6. Yfaith.] The folio reads "in sooth," the reading adopted by Mr. Knight. Mr. Collier follows the quartos, "i' faith." In such cases, there can be no error either way, and yet it is more reasonable to suppose that the latter was Shakespeare's own expression. The continual instances of softening all epithets of the same class which occur in the folio were probably made by the actors or editors, in consequence of the statute mentioned by Mr. Collier.

Page 21, line 35. In.] "By," printed eds.

Page 22, line 2. To Mortimer.] "Lo: Mortimer," ed. 1598. Concerning this reading see Collier's Shakespeare, iv., 223. The reading in the text corresponds with the 4to. of 1639.

Page 22, line 19. What.] "Where's," printed eds.

Page 23, line 23. Goe.] Omitted in eds. 1598 and 1599.

Page 24, line 10. But how many be there of them.] This does not agree exactly with any of the early printed editions. That of 1598 reads, "how many be there of them;" that of 1599, "how many be *they* of them;" and the subsequent quartos have, "But how many be they of them?" See Collier's Shakespeare, iv., 254. The folio reads, "But how many be of them?" In the printed editions this passage is assigned to Peto.

Page 25, line 8. Gott with much ease.] This speech is given as prose in all the old copies.

Page 26, line 17. And.] "An," printed eds.

Page 27, line 2. My.] "Thy," eds. 1598, 1599, the reading generally adopted by modern editors.

Page 28, line 13. To tilt w^t lips.] Ben Jonson has a similar image—"Come, you must yield both; this is neither contention for you, nor time fit to contend: there is another kind of *tilting* would become Love better than this; to meet lips for lances, and crack kisses instead of staves:

which, there is no beauty here, I presume, so young, but can fancy; nor so tender, but would venture." Works, ed. Gifford, vii., 233.

Page 28, line 32. What thou dost not knowe.] Alluding to the proverb recorded by Ray, "A woman conceals what she knows not;" Nash having said, in 1587, "who will commit anything to a woman's tattling trust, who conceales nothing but that she knows not?" See Malone's Shakespeare, ed. 1821, xvi., 258.

Page 29, line 26. This.] "Which," printed eds.

Page 30, line 1. The time.] The word "the" is accidentally omitted in the folio of 1623, which is followed even in this instance by Mr. Knight.

Page 30, line 6. Present.] "Precedent," printed eds.

Page 30, line 30. Stay yo^r.] "You stay," printed eds. The quarto of 1598 omits the word *you*.

Page 31, line 13. *Bastard*.] Formerly this term was applied to all mixed and sweetened wines, but in Shakespeare's time it seems to have had a more limited signification. Harrison, in his Description of England, p. 222, speaking of brawn, says, "With us it is accounted a great peece of service at the table from November untill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Christmas time; with the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malveseie, *bastard*, or muscadell, is usuallie droonke after it, where either of them are convenientlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselves with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indeed than in all the yeare beside." See also a curious enumeration of wines in an early poem printed in the *Nugæ Poeticæ*, p. 10,—

"And I will have also wyne de Ryne,
With new maid Clarye, that is good and fyne,
Muscadell, terantyne, and *bastard*,
With Ypocras and Pymment comyng afterwarde."

Page 32, line 8. Night.] The printed copies read "midnight." Why the Prince should say "*twelve o'clock at midnight*" does not seem very clear.

Page 32, line 13. Stayers.] That is, stairs. Not an unusual form of the word in early books, nor would a note have been necessary but for Mr. Knight's observations on it, so amusingly lashed by Mr. Dyce, in Remarks, &c., p. 56.

Page 32, line 19. Drinke.] "Drench," printed eds.

Page 33, line 8. The sacke.] "This sack," printed eds.

Page 33, line 27. I'll take say of yee.] In hunting, to take the *say* is to draw the knife along the belly of the deer, beginning at the brisket, to discover how fat he is. According to Gifford, this was a mere ceremony, but it could scarcely have been so in very ancient times. See his notes to the *Sad Shepherd*, vi., 270. This sentence is not in any of the printed editions, and is most probably an original addition by Sir E. Deryng. The speech itself is given to Poins, and no doubt rightly, in the earlier quartos, the mistake having first occurred in the edition of 1613, and thence carried into the folio of 1623. According to Mr. Collier, the folio was reprinted from the edition of 1613. See his *Shakespeare*, iv., 265.

Page 34, line 3. Villaine.] "Rogue," printed eds.

Page 35, line 6. Pray God.] This speech is given to the Prince in the earlier quartos. See Collier's *Shakespeare*, iv., 267.

Page 35, line 10. Call me horse.] This term of reproach was in use as late as the close of the last century, as appears from the following passage,—"Tell the old rascal that sent you hither, that I spit in his face, and *call him Horse*; that I tear his letter into rags, so; and that I trample upon it as I would upon his own villanous carcase, d'ye see."—*Peregrine Pickle*, ch. 14. In the same line, "thou knowest my old *word*," where the printed editions read *ward*. The reading of the MS. appears more intelligible.

Page 36, line 8. Catch.] The emendation of this word to "chest," which belongs to the original scribe, is worthy of consideration. The term *tallow-catch* has not been satisfactorily explained, and *tallow-keech* is rather a bold alteration.

Page 36, line 19. Reason on compulsion: I.] Why not consider "I" to stand for "aye?" This appears to be best suited to the context. A similar form of speech occurs in *Dido*, p. 59.

Page 36, line 23. Zbloud.] "Away," printed eds.

Page 37, line 17. Whole.] Omitted in printed eds.

Page 39, line 6. Goe.] Omitted in printed eds.

Page 39, line 9. Welsh hooke.] The Welsh-hook of Owen Glendower is mentioned in Ben Jonson's *Works*, vii., 340.

Page 40, line 27. Tristfull.] This was originally written *trustfull*,

but altered by a contemporary hand. The correction is of some importance, as it verifies Rowe's emendation.

Page 40, line 34. Yett.] The early quartos absurdly read "so;" a blunder which is not consistent with Falstaff's usual style of speaking.

Page 44, line 29. He searches his pocketts, &c.] This stage direction, which is also in the early editions, has been omitted by modern editors, probably on account of the next speech of Poins.

Page 45, line 18. Match.] "March," eds. 1598, 1599.

Page 45, line 22. Hopes.] "Hope," printed eds.

Page 46, line 3. At my natiuity.] According to Holinshed, "strange wonders happened at the nativity of this man: for the same night he was born, all his father's horses in the stable were found to stand in blood up to their bellies." Malone says that a comet appeared in 1402, which the Welsh bards represented as portending good fortune to Owen Glendower. Phaer mentions Glendower as *seduced by false prophecies* in his ambitious flights—

"And I, while fortune offered me so faire,
Did what I might his honour to appaire,
And tooke on me to be the Prince of Wales,
Entiste thereto by prophecies and tales.
And for to set us hereon more agog,
A prophet came (a vengeance take them all)
Affirming Henry to be Gogmagog,
Whom Merlin doth a mold-warpe ever call,
Accurst of God, that must be brought in thrall
By a wolfe, a dragon, and a lion strong,
Which should divide his kingdome them among;
This crafty dreamer made us three such beasts,
To think we weare the foresaid beasts indeed;
And for that cause our badges and our crests
Wee searched out, which scarcely well agreed:
Howbeit the herolds, apt at such a need,
Drew down such issue from old ancestors,
As prov'd these ensignes to be surely ours."

Page 46, line 6. Foundation.] "Huge foundation," ed. 1598.

Page 46, line 19. And the.] "Oft the," printed eds.

Page 54, line 12. Bruceing.] Altered to "brused" in MS.

Page 58, line 8. Right.] "Tithe," printed eds.

Page 58, line 20. Filthie doulas.] The MS. is here somewhat obscurely written. It may be, "filthie doulers."

Page 59, line 15. Prin.] An error in the MS.

Page 63, line 10. Not I.] Mr. Knight, following the folio, reads "not I his mind." The repetition of the two last words is unnecessary, and is probably omitted here with good authority.

Page 64, line 17. Heire.] This word occurs under various forms, and much nonsense has been written on it. Mr. Knight would read *air* in the sense of *appearance*; an absurdity which would have been avoided by any knowledge of the early English language, although *air* may certainly be considered the correct form, as we have seen *ayre* in the sense of *quality* or *condition*. The latter word is here the right explanation. The term is not uncommon in early writers.

A studie thay fonden swyth fayre,
And a stude of good *eeir*.

Seven Sages, ed. Wright, p. 5.

Page 64, line 35. Care.] "Dare," printed eds.

Page 68, line 9. Side.] "Hedge," printed eds.

Page 72, line 8. Huskie.] A mistake for *buskie*.

Page 73, line 2. Protest.] "Do protest," ed. 1623.

Page 75, line 12. Take take.] Sic in MS.

Page 94, line 1. Dost not knowe me.] Omitted in ed. 1623.

Page 111, line 3. Comes.] "Come," printed eds.

EARLY EDITIONS.

1. The History of Henrie the Fovrth; with the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the North. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe. At London, Printed by P. S. for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell, 1598. sm. 4to.

This is the first part. It was republished in quarto in 1599, 1604, 1608, 1613, 1622, 1632, and 1639. The edition of 1613 was reprinted by Steevens, and collated with those of 1599, 1632, and 1639. The first edition is of extreme rarity.

2. The Second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coronation of Henrie the fift. With the humours of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare. London, Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley. 1600. sm. 4to.

Some copies of this edition contain two leaves less than others. It has been reprinted by Steevens, and is the only impression of this play previous to the folio of 1623.

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